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WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA
AND THE DARK CONTINENT

FROM SAVAGERY TO CIVILIZATION



AND THE DARK CONTINENT

THE AFRICAN VOYAGE OF WILLIAM

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A. B. KUHLMAN & CO
CHICAGO

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Dedication.

To the men and women of America I dedicate this volume, without prejudice or favor, presenting the situation as I saw it, gathering the flowers of fact from Boer, British and other sources and trusting to the unprejudiced mind to draw its own conclusions.

WILLIAM HARDING.

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PUBLISHERS' INTRODUCTION.

The truism, "The world swings out toward the light," has never had such material demonstration as in these later days. The civilization that slept through the dark ages is marching onward the more rapidly because of the centuries of delay. In the vigor of its intellectual morning it reclaimed from primeval darkness two continents of a new world. Still onward and westward lies its course. The first rays of its dawn are kissing the farthestmost islands of the Pacific, glowing on the mountain peaks of Asia and penetrating the gloom of Africa, the continent whose name has become a synonym for untold riches and unmeasured opportunities. It is a matter of interesting speculation that Africa, the cradle of our civilization and in natural resources the wealthiest of the continents, should be the last to be touched by this magic wand. Great as have been the achievements of the nineteenth century, we are but at the beginning of the age of intellectual development and industrial enterprise. New inventions and increasing industries multiply the wants of the people, and as the older communities become congested, and the opportunities for satisfying wants lessen, the more enterprising seek new fields for industrial adventure. These are the forces that are bearing civilization into the islands of the Pacific, into the valleys and plains of Asia, and into the darkness of Africa.

With her immensity of natural resources, richness of mineral wealth, valuable forests and fertile lands, together with her unsurpassed facilities for commerce, Africa will be the haven of coming emigration, the Mecca of future industrial adventure. Here will be the home of generations yet unborn, who will build mighty empires, bulwarks of liberty and enlightenment, that shall mold the thought and lead the progress of the world, as did the ancient empire on the banks of the Nile. The pioneer movement to this end has been going on for four centuries. Slowly and stubbornly, over hard-fought fields, the savagery and gloom of the benighted continent have receded before the onward march of the pioneer as he held his way into the interior from the Cape of Good Hope. Section after section have been wrested from the savages by people from many lands, until a considerable portion of South Africa may be said to be under the rule of civilized government.

As resources were developed, industries established, cities built and governments formed, the interests of the colonies clashed, and to-day South Africa is in the throes of war to decide whether the Boers or the British shall be the future ruling power. This is a question of such importance to the civilized world that everywhere people are watching the movements with intense interest, and waiting for the answer that will come with the success of either the British or Boer arms.

The object of publishing this book is to present as a contribution to the public intelligence a complete and detailed statement of the South African problem. That the conditions now existing may be more easily understood, the history of the continent from the birth of the once glorious civilization on the banks of the Nile to the present day is reviewed briefly by a logical presentation of those events that have a bearing on the problem of to-day. This review embraces terse accounts of the many explorations that have resulted in giving us a geography of Africa; characteristic descriptions of the barbarians and savage tribes; the physical features and natural resources; the settlements made and colonies and governments established; the wars of conquest and the work of development; the building of cities and railroads and telegraph lines; the discovery and development of the gold and diamond mines that have been and are the bone of contention among the people. The causes of the war between the British and the Boers for supremacy in the Transvaal are dwelt upon in detail. With the organization of the South African Republic and the South Africa Company two contesting forces were introduced into South Africa, the friction between which resulted in the bloody struggle of to-day. The Jameson raid is traced in its entirety as the overt cause of the war. The history of the war is given in logical order. The resolute resistance of the Boers, in their efforts to maintain what they claim as their rights, is no less than the heroic charges of the British in striving for participation in the affairs of the South African Republic. A war for principle on both sides, it appeals to the conscience of humanity everywhere, and is one of the most bitterly contested wars waged with the equipments of modern warfare. The spirit that led the charge at Elands-laagte, where Colonel Hamilton retrieved the British loss at Majuba Hill years ago, is the spirit that actuates the men on both sides and forces the struggle into one of undaunted valor and unquestioned heroism.

Mr. Harding, the author, needs no introduction. The able manner in which he has performed his work is the result of logical training. For more than a quarter century he has been identified with the highest form of journalism. As correspondent for such newspapers as the New York Herald, New York Times, and New York World he has traveled all over the known world, and through travel is familiar with the continent of which he writes. As cable editor at New York of The Associated Press, which position he has held the past twelve years, he has handled every item of news that has come to the United States from the Old World. This has familiarized him with every detail of the situation in Africa. The book is issued in the confident belief that it is the clearest and most logical presentation of the African problem and its accompanying struggle that it is possible to make.

THE PUBLISHERS.



AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.

The average American knows very little about South Africa, though it is one of the most interesting parts of the world and affords a wide field for American enterprise. I have endeavored in this book to picture the Boers and the South African colonists as an unprejudiced historian, leaving my readers to form their own conclusions. In so doing, I have briefly sketched the history of South Africa generally and have then dwelt fully upon the Boers, their habits and peculiarities, as viewed from different standpoints, leading up to the Boers' disputes with Great Britain, the famous Jameson raid, Emperor William's startling dispatch to President Kruger, Great Britain's preparations for war, the great conspiracy trials, the struggle between the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and President Kruger, and, finally, the Transvaal War, basing my presentation of the facts upon the splendid foreign service of the Associated Press, with which I have been connected, as Cable Editor, for almost twelve years, and drawing largely upon British and Boer reports and official and unofficial correspondence from all parts of South Africa and elsewhere. This most interesting history has been finely illustrated and carefully prepared, and will, I feel certain, be an acceptable volume in every household and in every library throughout the United States. Following my history of the Dreyfus case ("Dreyfus, the Prisoner of Devil's Island"), it may be said to form No. 2 of what I hope may be a series of volumes of current history of the world, compiled from the best and most authentic sources and written to please, if possible, the lover of light literature as well as the student of history. I endeavor to avoid all leaden arguments and the mustiness of the past, though the latter is reviewed, and try to present these histories in a manner suited to the tastes of this age. In other words, while admiring and respecting the somewhat indigestible plum-pudding of history, I have tried to form from the most palatable ingredients a light, appetizing literary pastry which cannot disagree with any digestion and should please almost everybody. I take it for granted that people nowadays desire to acquire knowledge in a pleasant manner and I hope to enable them to do so with these volumes, instead of attempting to force upon them numerous huge and tedious books of heavy history.

WILLIAM HARDING.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

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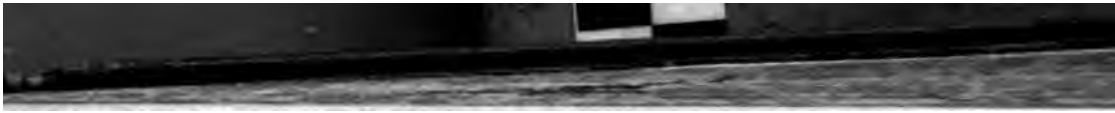
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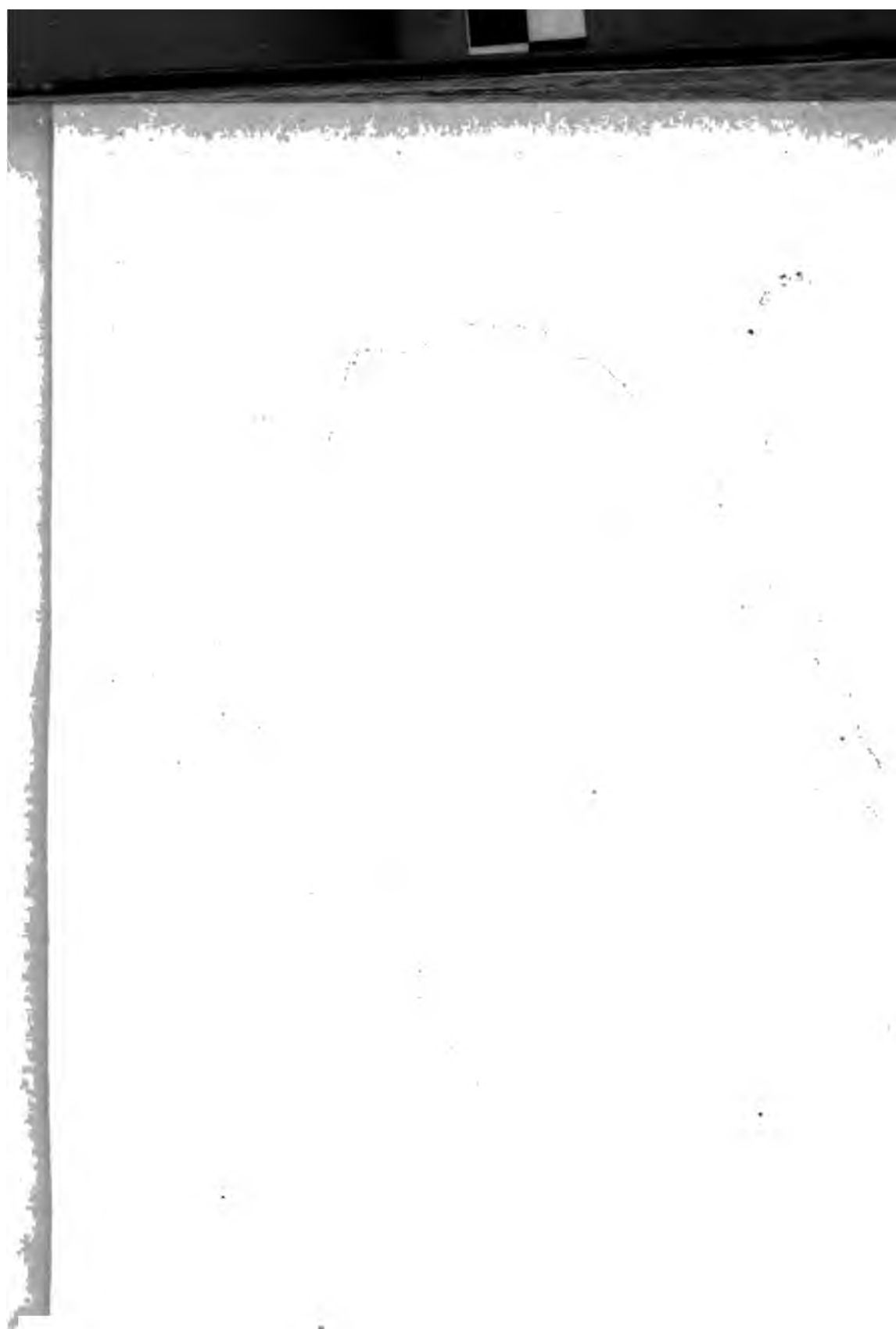
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CHAPTER I.

THE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

With all due respect to the past, one enters upon a review of ancient history with feeling of trepidation. We are all entitled to put our hands in the same old store of musty facts and we can only pull out somewhat dry historical chestnuts. But, even when preparing to peruse a bright and entertaining history it is necessary to glance backward, to form some idea of events which led up to the more exciting occurrences of the present day. With this fact in view, let me sketch as briefly as possible the history of South Africa.

There always has been and probably always will be a question as to who is right or who is wrong in maintaining that the advance of civilization has justified many apparent injustices perpetrated upon the weak by the strong. So much so, that it seems to me that it is best to leave the matter to individual opinion, and I shall not attempt to draw any deductions from the history of South Africa.

Bartholomew Diaz, the Portuguese navigator, discovered the Cape of Good Hope, the southernmost point of South Africa, in 1486, and first landed at Algoa Bay, on the southeast coast, after having been driven out to sea by a storm. On his way back to the west coast he again "doubled" or passed the South Cape and gave it the name of Cabo Tormentoso, or Cape of Storms. Later, however, the King of Portugal bestowed upon it the name it now bears, as it afforded the hope of a new and easier way of reaching the Indies, which was the great ambition of all the mariners of that age.

Vasco de Gama, the great Portuguese navigator, doubled the Cape of Good Hope in 1497 and carried the flag of Portugal into the seas of India. But, the Portuguese do not appear to have established a settlement of any importance at the Cape, and it remained for the Dutch, on the decline of the power of Portugal, to recognize the importance of the Cape of Good Hope, though they did not regularly colonize it until 1652, when the Dutch East India Company, headed by Jan Van Riebeck, formed a small settlement there. That portion of South Africa was then inhabited by a people called Quaeguae, to whom the Dutch gave the name of Hottentots.

As usual in such cases, for a time the territory of the colonists did not extend beyond a few miles outside of the town, now known as Cape Town. But, gradually, the Dutch drove the natives back or reduced them to a state of slavery, in which they were assisted by a number of European adventurers, mostly Germans and Flemings.

In 1686 the European population of Cape Town received the addition of a number of French refugees, who had left their own country on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which was the charter of the Huguenot, or French Protestant liberty in France. From that time on the European wave slowly but surely spread, with the Dutch in control. The Hottentots lost more and more of their country and, in time, the larger part of them were reduced to slavery. These Dutch colonists seem to have drifted into rough, arbitrary methods of dealing with the natives and others in the colony and some of the characteristics of these colonists of Holland can be traced in the South African republicans of the present time. A number of these Dutch colonists soon developed a dislike of organized government and sought to escape from control by moving northward. These men were the forefathers of the Boers of the present day. In their attempts to escape from the power of the Dutch, the early Boers attempted to form an independent government outside the borders of Cape Colony, notably in the district since termed Graaf-Reinet.

During the year 1740 the Dutch, who had previously considered the Gamtoos river as the boundary between the Hottentot and neighboring, Kaffir, races, began to enter the Kaffir country, had a number of collisions with the Kaffirs and, in 1780, extended the Dutch colonial frontier to the Great Fish river.

The Cape Colonists, about 1795, animated by the revolutionary spirit of the age, rose against their Dutch rulers, whereupon the British sent a fleet of warships to support the authority of the Prince of Orange and they took possession of the country in his name. Cape Colony was ruled by British governors until 1802, the Dutch having other troubles on hand, when, by the Peace of Amiens, it was restored to Holland. But, on the renewal of the European war in 1806, the colony was taken by a British force under Sir David Baird and was finally ceded to Great Britain, by the King of Holland, at the peace of 1815.

The area of Cape Colony then was about 120,000 square miles and the population was but little over 60,000 souls.



CHAPTER II.

PROGRESS OF CAPE COLONY.

The trouble with the Kaffirs, which had been brewing, owing to the aggression of the Boers, for many years, came to a head in 1811-1812 and still more seriously in 1819, with the result that the boundary of Cape Colony was extended from the Great Fish river to the Keiskamma. In 1835, in consequence of a third war with the Kaffirs, the boundary was advanced to the Kei, but the Keiskamma and Kei country was, later, restored to the Kaffirs.

Another Kaffir war broke out in 1850, and it may be said not to have ended until 1853, when a good portion of the Kaffir country became a crown colony.

In the meanwhile, British emigrants to the number of about 5,000 had reached Algoa Bay and by 1820 they had founded several settlements on the east coast, including the important towns of Port Elizabeth and Grabonis. These settlements eventually became the most thriving portions of the colony.

The slaves of Cape Colony were emancipated in 1834, in spite of the opposition of the Boers, who therefore became more disgusted with British rule than they had previously been. Later, large numbers of the Boers resolved to remove with their families outside British control and, after selling their farms at great sacrifices, they crossed the Orange river into Kaffir country. After much fighting with the natives and after enduring many hardships, one party of Boers, under Peter Retici, crossed the Drakenberg mountains and took possession of the Natal district, where they formed a republic and fought the Zulu Kaffirs until 1842, when the British took possession of Natal.

Those of the Boers who had settled beyond the Orange river, west of the Drakenberg, managed to maintain their independence until 1848, when the British declared supremacy over their territory and called it the Orange River Sovereignty. Soon afterwards the Boers in Natal, under Andrew Pretorius, revolted against the British.

Pretorius crossed the Drakenberg mountains with his followers and was joined on the western side by large numbers of other disaffected Boers. The British governor, Sir Henry Smith, thereupon

crossed the Orange river at the head of a force of troops and defeated the Boers at Boem Plaats. Pretorius and his followers then retreated beyond the Vaal river, the northern boundary of the Orange River Sovereignty, and they there established a government of their own. In 1852 these Boers were absolved from allegiance to the British Crown by treaty.

The Orange River Sovereignty became turbulous in 1853-4, and the British resolved to abandon that part of the country. This was done, and the Orange Free State was constituted, as a republic, with a president at its head and a people's council (Volksraad) elected by almost universal suffrage.

Previous to this Cape Colony had been convulsed by what was known as the "Convict Agitation" and which led to the establishment of a free representative government for the colony. After the British Government had discontinued sending convicts to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, it was proposed to send convicts to the Cape, and the Governor of the Colony was instructed to ascertain the feeling of the Colonists on the subject. Owing to a misunderstanding, however, a vessel, the Neptune, was sent to Cape Town before the opinion of the Colonists had been obtained. Among the convicts on board were John Mitchell, the Irish agitationist, and his associates. The people of the Colony became very excited when the Neptune arrived at Simon's Bay. They assembled in large numbers and rioting followed until the governor agreed not to land the convicts and kept them on board, while awaiting instructions from the home government to order the vessel to proceed to Van Diemen's Land. The Colonists, after this victory, continued their agitation and, as already stated, succeeded in obtaining a representative government and a constitution of great liberality.

A startling delusion, in 1857, arose among the members of the Kaffirs of a certain section of Kaffirland. Their seers told them that if they sacrificed their lives and property a resurrection would take place at a certain date, in which all the dead of the nation would arise in new strength. The Kaffirs believed this and about one-third of the tribe referred to, about 50,000 men, perished in a national suicide, which depopulated large tracts of country, which were afterwards settled by Europeans, including many Germans.

Diamonds were discovered in the districts north of the Orange river



in 1867, which drew the attention of the world to the Colony and promoted every branch of industry. Incidentally, it led to the annexation by Great Britain of the large territory of Griqualand West.

By this time the Basutos, a division of the Bechwana Kaffirs, occupying the upper valleys of the Orange river, after a long period of warfare with the Boers of the Free State, were, on the petition of their chief, Moshesh, proclaimed British subjects. This was in 1868. Their territory formally became part of the Colony in 1871.

Large tracts of southern and northern Kaffirland, in 1874 and 1875, besides Griqualand East, on the southern border of Natal, and other territory, were gradually brought under British rule; in all cases, it is claimed, by the free consent of the inhabitants.

And so the work of building up Cape Colony progressed.

At the census of 1875 the Colony had an area of 191,416 square miles and a population of 720,984, of which number 236,783 were Europeans. In 1891 the population of the same area was 956,485, including 336,938 Europeans, an increase of 32.66 per cent during the sixteen years.

The following table gives the area and population of the Colony and dependencies according to the census of 1891:

POPULATION IN 1891.

| | AREA, SQUARE MILES. | EUROPEAN OR WHITE. | COLORED. | TOTAL. | PER SQUARE MILE. |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| Colony proper | 191,416 | 336,938 | 619,547 | 956,485 | 5.00 |
| Griqualand West | 15,197 | 29,670 | 53,705 | 83,375 | 5.49 |
| East Griqualand | 7,594 | 4,150 | 148,468 | 152,618 | 20.10 |
| Tembuland | 4,122 | 5,179 | 175,236 | 180,415 | 43.77 |
| Transkei | 2,552 | 1,019 | 152,544 | 153,563 | 60.16 |
| Walfish Bay | 430 | 31 | 737 | 768 | 1.79 |
| Total | 221,311 | 376,987 | 1,150,237 | 1,527,224 | 6.90 |

Griqualand West is now incorporated in the Cape and constitutes four of the seventy-seven divisions.

When Pondoland was annexed to Cape Colony in 1894 it had an estimated area of 4,040 square miles and a population of 166,080.

In November, 1895, the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland was incorporated with Cape Colony. The area annexed was 51,424 square

miles, and the population in 1891 was 72,736, of whom 5,211 were whites.

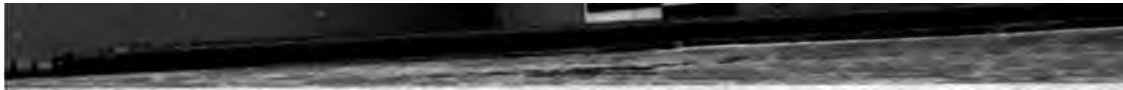
Of the white population of Cape Colony, according to the latest reports, 27,667 were born in England, 6,646 in Scotland, and 4,184 in Ireland, while 6,540 were German. Of the colored population 13,907 are Malays and 247,806 a mixture of various races; the rest are Hottentots, Fingoes, Kaffirs and Bechuanas. Of the whites 195,956 are males and 181,031 females, and of the total population 767,327 are males and 759,897 females.

The Colony had a public debt of £27,282,405 January 1, 1898, including £2,666,617 raised for corporate bodies.

The total revenue of the divisional councils in 1897 was £180,749, and expenditures £169,066. The total municipal revenue in 1897 was £662,788, and expenditures £659,733. The total debt of the divisional councils, December 31, 1897, was £43,571 and of the municipalities, £1,624,010.

The whole Cape peninsula, in which is the naval station of Simon's Bay, is fortified by a series of forts and batteries. For the defence of the Colony a military force is maintained—the Cape Mounted Riflemen, 1,015 officers and men. Every able-bodied man in the Colony between 18 and 50 is subject to military service beyond as well as within the colonial limits. There were, besides, a body of 7,000 volunteers in 1897. The Cape police, which consists of 68 officers and 1,843 men, with 1,683 horses, is available for defense in case of emergency. On the Cape and West African station, a squadron of sixteen British ships is usually maintained.

In the year ending May 31, 1898, the chief agricultural produce of the Colony and native territories was wheat, 1,950,831 bushels; oats, 1,447,353 bushels; barley, 907,920 bushels; mealies, 2,060,742 bushels; Kaffir corn, 1,140,615 bushels; rye, 287,679 bushels; oat-hay, 48,850,184 bundles of about 5½ pounds; tobacco, 3,934,277 pounds. There were 83,759,031 vine-stocks, yielding 4,861,056 gallons of wine, 1,387,392 gallons of brandy, and 2,577,909 pounds of raisins. There were also fruit trees (peach, apricot, apple, pear, plum, fig, orange, lemon and naartje) to the number of 4,195,624. The chief pastoral products were: wool, 39,141,445 pounds; mohair, 8,115,370 pounds; ostrich feathers, 294,733 pounds; butter, 2,623,329 pounds; cheese, 36,729 pounds. In 1898 there were 1,201,522 head of cattle, 382,610 horses, 85,060 mules



and asses, 12,616,883 sheep, 5,316,767 Angora and other goats, 239,451 pigs, 267,693 ostriches.

Some of the sheep-farms of the Colony are of very great extent, 3,000 to 15,000 acres and upwards; those in tillage are comparatively small. In 1875 the total number of holdings was 16,166, comprising 83,900,000 acres; of these 10,766, comprising upwards of 60,000,000 acres, were held on quit-rent.

At the census of 1891 there were 2,230 industrial establishments, employing altogether 32,735 persons, having machinery and plants valued at £1,564,897, and annually producing articles worth £9,238,870. Among these establishments were flour mills, breweries, tobacco factories, tanneries, and diamond, gold, copper, and coal mines.

Of the total imports in 1897, the value of £4,569,000 (gross), including £65,911 specie, was duty-free, while the value of £13,429,000 (gross) was subject to duty. The customs duties amounted to £2,189,580, or slightly over 16 per cent of the imports subject to duty.

CHAPTER III.

THE TRANSVAAL AND MAJUBA HILL.

Having sketched the history and growth of Cape Colony, we may turn our attention to the Transvaal, or South African Republic.

The history of the Transvaal may be said to begin with the "Great Trek" or exodus of the Boers of Cape Colony who were dissatisfied with British rule, in 1833 and 1837, when they "treked" or moved, with all their belongings, northward. Some thousands of them had already crossed the Vaal, the river of South Africa, forming the southern boundary of the Transvaal, in 1836, and had entered the country ruled over by Moselkatze, a refugee Zulu chief, whose principal kraal, or collection of huts, was at Mos-ega, on the west frontier. In 1837, to avenge the massacre of some bands of emigrants, the Boers attacked and routed Moselkatze, and, the following year, the chief withdrew beyond the Limpopo river, where he founded Matabeleland, now a part of the British possessions. Further fighting with the Zulus of the east, and the Boers were only saved from extermination by Andrew Pretorius, who defeated the Zulus in 1838 and again in 1840.

After Pretorius, in 1852, had induced the British Government to sign the Sand river convention, the political independence of the Transvaal was practically established, and the death of Pretorius and his rival for power, Potgieter, led to a long period of peace under the eldest son of Pretorius, Marthinus Wessels Pretorius, first president of what was then termed the "Dutch African Republic", which title was altered in 1858 to that of the "South African Republic." The great difficulty with the republic seems to have been its determination to treat the natives as slaves, which policy was officially sanctioned in 1858 by the Grond Wet, or "Fundamental Law," which declared that the "people will admit of no equality of persons of color with the white inhabitants either in state or church" and which led to further ill-feeling upon the part of the Boers and the British, who treated the natives fairly and whose emancipation of the slaves in Cape Colony did much to lead to the Boer trek from that colony. This bad feeling has been constantly growing and culminated in the present war, though there is good reason to believe that other influences have had much more to do with the



conflict than the feeling of irritation existing between the people of the two nations.

The British, as a result of the complaints against the Boers, and for other reasons, annexed the Transvaal April 22, 1877.

In December, 1880, the Boers revolted against the British, and a treaty of peace was signed March 21, 1881. According to the convention ratified by the Volksraad October 26, 1881, self-government was restored to the Transvaal, though Great Britain retained her "sovereignty" over the republic, to the extent of reserving to herself the direction of the Transvaal's external affairs, while giving the Boers control of their internal affairs. A British Resident was appointed at Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, and this was the state of affairs until February 27, 1884, when another convention between the Transvaal and Great Britain was signed in London, known as the London Convention, in which, the Boers claim, Great Britain made no mention of her suzerainty over the Transvaal, while the British hold that the sovereignty of Great Britain over the republic was maintained. In any case, instead of a Resident at Pretoria, the British Government appointed a Diplomatic Agent to represent her at the Transvaal capital.

This point, however, was not reached without difficulty.

The discontented Boers in the revolts of 1880-81 were successful in their contests with the British troops, which led to their regaining their independence under the suzerainty of Great Britain.

Sir George Colley, the governor of Natal, who led the British forces against the Boers, attacked the latter at Laing's Nek, a pass leading into the Transvaal, January 28, 1881, and was repulsed with heavy loss. On February 8, 1881, the British were again defeated with heavy loss on the Ingogo river, after having been twelve hours under fire.

Finally, General Colley met with a third defeat at Majuba Hill and was killed on the field of battle.

The attack on Majuba Hill, which overlooks Laing's Nek, was made by the British during the night of February 26, 1881. They numbered over 600 men, marched from their camp at Mount Prospect and ascended the hill with the intention of surprising the Boers in camp at Laing's Nek. But the Boers were on the alert, and at 10:30 A. M. the following day they attacked the village, scaled the hill and drove them down the other side after a fierce fight, killing numbers of the

fleeing soldiers. The Boers are said to have lost about 150 men, which is not admitted by them, while of the 350 British troops engaged, three officers and about eighty-two men were killed, many were wounded, 120 prisoners were captured and a number were reported missing. Sir George Colley, who was shot through the head, and who died with his face to the enemy, is, according to some reports, said to have shot himself when he saw the British were defeated. This has never been confirmed, so far as the writer knows.

An incident in connection with Majuba Hill stands out sharply at the present time. In the thick of the fighting, Lieutenant Ian Hamilton, of the Gordon Highlanders, went to Sir George Colley and asked leave to charge down hill with the bayonet at the head of the Scots. Colley refused. One seems to see him turning toward the eager young face and muttering to himself, "I can't let him go!" It might have been death to Hamilton, but experts, both Dutch and English, say it would have meant the defeat of the Boers. They claim that if only two of the Highlanders had reached them with the bayonet General Joubert's stormers would have run. We need not detract from the courage of those who climbed the hill when we mention a fact of real value in computing the chances of any future fighting. They operated under conditions where they were practically invulnerable by ordinary infantry. They outnumbered the British, and while the latter shot badly the Boers shot like an army of picked marksmen.

But, strange to add, Ian Hamilton, now Colonel Hamilton, was destined to sternly avenge Majuba Hill. As will be shown in a later chapter, Hamilton, in the recent fighting in Natal, led his gallant Gordon Highlanders up the steep hill of Elands Igaate, and, cheering and yelling "Majuba," the Gordons captured the Boer position and, at the point of the bayonet, put the enemy to flight.

An armistice followed and then the convention was drawn up and eventually agreed to. The British troops left the Transvaal in December, 1882, and in May, 1883, S. J. Paul Kruger was elected President of the Transvaal.

Before entering into further details regarding the Transvaal, it may be wise to sketch the constitution and government of that country, which has been frequently mended down to January, 1897.

The supreme legislative authority is vested in a parliament of two chambers, each of twenty-seven members, chosen by the districts. Bills



RECEPTION AT THE PRESIDENCY DURING THE BLOEMFONTEIN CONFERENCE.
MEETING OF SIR ALFRED MILNER AND PRESIDENT KRUGER.



THE RAADZAAL, OR GOVERNMENT BUILDING, IN PRETORIA.



VIEW IN THE BURGHERS' PARK IN PRETORIA, THE TRANSVAAL CAPITAL.

passed by the second chamber do not become law until accepted by the districts. Members of both chambers must be thirty years of age, possess fixed property, profess the Protestant religion, and never have been convicted of any criminal offence. The members of the first chamber are elected from and by the first-class burghers, those of the second chamber from and by the first and second-class burghers, conjointly, each for four years. First-class burghers comprise all male whites resident in the republic before May 29, 1876, or who took an active part in the war of independence in 1881, the Malaboch war in 1894, the Jameson Raid in 1895-6, the expedition of Swaziland in 1894, and all the other tribal wars of the republic, and the children of such persons from the age of sixteen. Second-class burghers comprise the naturalized male alien population and their children from the age of sixteen. Naturalization may be obtained after two years' residence, and registration on the books of the fieldcornet, oaths of allegiance, and payment of £2. The executive council has also the right, in special instances, to invite persons to become naturalized on payment of £2. Naturalized burghers may by special resolution of the first chamber, become first-class burghers twelve years after naturalization. Sons of aliens, though born in the republic, have no political rights, but, by registration at the age of sixteen may, at the age of eighteen, become naturalized burghers, and may, by special resolution of the first chamber, be made first-class burghers ten years after they are eligible for the second chamber, or at the age of forty.

The President and Commandant-General are elected by the first-class burghers only; district commandants and fieldcornets by the two classes of burghers conjointly.

The executive is vested in a President, elected for five years, assisted by a council, consisting of four official members (the State Secretary, the Commandant-General, Superintendent of Natives, and the Minute-keeper), and two non-official members. The State Secretary, Superintendent of Natives, the Minute-keeper and Secretary, and the two non-official members, are elected by the first Volksraad.

The Vice-President is General P. J. Joubert, elected May 13, 1896.

The executive council consists of: Official members—P. J. Joubert, Commandant-General (Vice-President); F. W. Reitz, State Secretary; Commandant P. A. Cronje, Superintendent of Natives; J. H. M. Kock, Minute-keeper. Non-official—J. M. A. Wolmarans, S. W. Burger.

The area of the republic at the outbreak of the war was 119,139 square miles, divided into twenty districts, and its white population, according to a very incomplete census of 1896, was 245,397, of whom 137,947 were men and 107,450 women; the native population in April, 1896, was estimated at 622,500.

The State Almanack of the Transvaal for 1898 gives the population as follows: whites, 345,397 (137,947 males and 107,450 females); natives, 748,759 (148,155 men, 183,280 women, and 417,324 children); total population, 1,094,156. The boundaries of the state are defined in the convention of February 27, 1884—since altered by a supplementary convention, by which the former New Republic (Zululand) was annexed to the South African Republic as a new district, named Vrijheid, and, by the terms of the convention regarding Swaziland, comes under the administration of the Transvaal.

The seat of government is Pretoria, with a white population of 10,000.

The largest town is Johannesburg, the mining centre of the Witwatersrand goldfields, with a population within a radius of three miles, according to census of July 15, 1896, of 102,078 (79,315 males and 22,763 females).

The population consisted of 50,907 whites, 952 Malays, 4,807 coolies and Chinese, 42,533 Kaffirs, and 2,879 of mixed race. One-third of the population of the republic are engaged in agriculture.

The South African Republic, some time previous to the outbreak of the war, had no standing army, with the exception of a small force of horse artillery of 32 officers, 79 non-commissioned officers, and 289 men, all able-bodied citizens being called out in case of war. There were three foot and six mounted volunteer corps, numbering about 2,000 men, subsidized by the government. The number of men liable to service in 1894 was 26,299.

The South African Republic is specially favorable for agriculture as well as the stock-rearing, though its capacities in this respect are not yet developed. It is estimated that 50,000 acres are under cultivation. The agriculture produce, however, is not sufficient for the wants of the population. There are about 12,245 farms, of which 3,636 belong to the government, 1,612 to outside owners and companies, and the rest to resident owners and companies.

Gold-mining is carried on to a great extent in the various gold-fields, principally Barberton and Witwatersrand.

The total value of gold production from the year 1884 has been :

| YEAR. | |
|-------------|-------------|
| 1884 | £10,096 |
| 1885 | 6,010 |
| 1886 | 34,710 |
| 1887 | 169,401 |
| 1888 | 967,416 |
| 1889 | 1,490,568 |
| 1890 | 1,869,645 |
| 1891 | 2,924,305 |
| 1892 | 4,541,071 |
| 1893 | 5,480,498 |
| 1894 | 7,667,152 |
| 1895 | 8,569,555 |
| 1896 | 8,603,821 |
| 1897 | 11,476,260 |
| Total | £53,810,508 |

The official returns date from the year 1891. Of the gold output in 1897, 3,034,678 oz. (£10,583,616) were from Witwatersrand; 113,972 oz. (£398,902) from De Kaap; 50,942 oz. (£178,296) from Lydenburg; 84,781 oz. (£296,733) from Klerksdorp; 223 oz. (£791) from Zoutpansberg; 5,120 oz. (£17,922) from Swaziland, etc.; total output of 1897, 3,289,720 oz. (£11,476,260). In 1897, according to returns furnished by seventy-two companies, the number of whites employed at the mines was 8,060, the amount paid to them in wages being £2,521,603; the number of natives employed, according to these returns, was 50,791, but the total number employed was estimated at about 70,000. Working for silver, lead, and copper has been suspended since 1894; tin is found in Swaziland. Coal of a fair quality is found near Witwatersrand and other goldfields; the total output in three years has been: 1895, 1,133,466 tons; 1896, 1,437,297 tons; 1897, 1,600,212 tons (value, £612,668).

The principal exports of the Transvaal are gold, wool, cattle, hides, grain, ostrich feathers, ivory and minerals. The value of imports on which dues were charged amounted in 1894 to £6,440,215; in 1895, £9,816,304; in 1896, £14,088,130; in 1897, £13,563,827. The import

duties amounted in 1896 to £1,355,486, and in 1897 to £1,289,309. The total imports in 1897 have been estimated at £21,515,000, of which £17,012,000 were from Great Britain, £2,747,000 from the United States, £1,054,226 from Germany, and the remainder from Belgium, Holland and France. In the official returns for 1897 the largest imports were clothing, £1,254,058; machinery, £1,876,391; railway material, £869,443; iron ware, plates, etc., £864,126.

Various railway lines connect the republic with the Orange Free State, Cape Colony, Natal, and Portuguese East Africa. The total mileage open in September, 1898, was 774; under construction, 270, and projected, 252.



CHAPTER IV.

THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

Having given our readers some idea of Cape Colony and the Transvaal, before concluding the chapters on the early history, we must refer more fully to the Orange Free State, which took up arms in support of the Transvaal against the British.

The Orange Free State, as previously outlined, was also originally founded by the Boers who treked from Cape Colony in 1836 and the following years. It is separated from Cape Colony by the Orange river, has British Basutoland and Natal on the east, the Transvaal on the north and the Transvaal and Griqualand West on the west. After the declaration of its independence, February 23, 1854, a constitution was proclaimed, April 10, 1854, and was reversed February 9, 1866, and May 8, 1879. Legislative authority is vested in the Volksraad, of fifty-eight members, elected by suffrage of the burghers (adult white males) for four years from every district, town, and ward, or field-cornetcy in the country districts. Every two years one-half of the members vacate their seats and an election takes place. The members of the Volksraad receive pay at the rate of £2 per day. Eligible are burghers twenty-five years of age, who are owners of real property to the value of £500. Voters must be white burghers by birth or naturalization, be owners of real property of not less than £150, or lessees of real property of an annual rental of £36, or have a yearly income of not less than £200, or be owners of personal property of the value of £300, and have been in the State for not less than three years. The executive is vested in a President chosen for five years by universal suffrage, who is assisted by an executive council. The executive council consists of the Government Secretary, the Landdrost (Magistrate) of the capital, and three unofficial members appointed by the Volksraad, one every year for three years.

The President of the Orange Free State is M. T. Steyn, elected February 21, 1896.

There is a Landdrost appointed by the President to each of the nineteen districts of the republic, the appointment requiring the confirmation of the Volksraad. In every ward there are commissioners for

various purposes, the members of which are elected by the burghers.

The area of the Orange Free State is estimated at 48,326 square miles; it is divided into nineteen districts. At a census taken in 1890 the white population was found to be 77,716—40,571 males and 37,145 females. Of the population 51,910 were born in the Orange Free State and 21,116 in the Cape Colony. There were, besides, 129,787 natives in the State—67,791 males and 61,996 females—making a total population of 207,503.

The capital, Bloemfontein, had 2,077 white inhabitants in 1890 and 1,382 natives. Of the white population 10,761 were returned in 1890 as directly engaged in agriculture, while there were 41,817 "colored servants."

The system of education in the Orange Free State is national. Small grants are also made to the Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches. The government schools are managed by elected local boards, which choose the teachers, who are appointed by the President, if he is satisfied with their qualifications. Education is not compulsory, nor free except for very poor children. In 1894-95 about £40,000 was allotted to education, a portion of which consisted of interest on a capital of £200,000 set apart by the Volksraad for this purpose. Besides this amount a considerable sum was spent upon school buildings under the public works department.

The following is a statement of revenue and expenditure of the Orange Free State, for the three years ending February, 1895, for the ten months ending December, 1895, and for the calendar years 1896 and 1897:

| YEARS. | REVENUE. | EXPENDITURE. |
|---------------|----------|--------------|
| 1892-93 | £310,372 | £378,922 |
| 1893-94 | 293,790 | 323,899 |
| 1894-95 | 306,653 | 319,221 |
| 1895 | 259,589 | 271,935 |
| 1896 | 374,774 | 381,861 |
| 1897 | 402,230 | 381,589 |

The republic had a debt of £40,000 in 1897, but possessed considerable public property in land, buildings, bridges, telegraphs, etc., valued at £430,000, and in its share in the National Bank, amounting to £70,000. Bloemfontein has a municipal debt of £7,000.

The frontier measures about 900 miles; of this 400 miles marches with Cape Colony, 200 Basutoland, 100 Natal, and South African Republic 200 miles.

There were no real fortifications on the frontier at the outbreak of the war.

Every able-bodied man in the State above sixteen and under sixty years of age is compelled to take arms when called upon by his field-cornet (equal to the rank of a Captain), when necessity demands it. The number of Free State burghers available was 17,381. Two batteries of artillery were stationed at the capital, Bloemfontein; 80 officers and men, with 350 passed artillerists, as a reserve. The number of officers and men was increased by fifty men during 1896, and a new fort was being built on a hill at the north end of the town.

The Orange Free State consists of undulating plains, affording excellent grazing. A comparatively small portion of the country is suited for agriculture, but a considerable quantity of grain is produced. The number of farms is 10,499, with a total of 29,918,500 acres, of which in 1900, 250,600 were cultivated. There were in the same year 248,878 horses, 276,073 oxen, 619,026 other cattle (burthen), 6,619,992 sheep, 858,155 goats, and 1,461 ostriches.

The diamond production in 1890 was 99,255 carats, valued at £223,960; in 1891, 108,311 carats, valued at £202,551; in 1893, 209,653 carats, valued at £414,179; in 1894, 282,598 carats, valued at £428,039. In 1896 the diamond exports were valued at £452,509, and in 1897, £440,964. Garnets and other precious stones are found, and there are rich coal mines. Gold has also been found.

As the exports and imports pass through the ports of Cape Colony and Natal, they are included in the returns for these colonies. The imports, besides general merchandise, from Cape Colony and Natal, comprise cereals, wool, cattle, and horses from Basutoland. The exports to the Cape, Natal and South African Republic are chiefly agricultural produce and diamonds, while other merchandise goes to Basutoland. The trade is estimated as follows for two years:

| | IMPORTS FROM, 1896. | IMPORTS FROM, 1897. | EXPORTS TO, 1896. | EXPORTS TO, 1897. |
|----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Cape Colony..... | £845,812 | £913,158 | £612,313 | £735,883 |
| Natal | 224,440 | 185,469 | 116,961 | 127,253 |
| Basutoland | 116,205 | 107,987 | 70,751 | 59,368 |
| So. African Republic. | | 25,085 | 944,459 | 871,738 |
| Total | £1,186,457 | £1,231,699 | £1,744,484 | £1,794,242 |

The capital of the Orange Free State, Bloemfontein, is connected with Natal, Transvaal and the Cape Colony by telegraph; 1,500 miles of telegraph have been constructed. A railway constructed by the Cape Colony Government connects the Orange river at Norval's Point with Bloemfontein, 121 miles, and Bloemfontein with the Transvaal (at Viljoens drift on the Vaal river), 209 miles. There are roads throughout the districts, ox-wagons being the principal means of conveyance.



A BOER FAMILY OF SHARPSHOOTERS AT JOHANNESBURG.



THE NATAL INFANTRY ON FIELD SERVICE.



CHAPTER V.

THE GOLD AND DIAMOND MINES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

When the British forces left the Transvaal, the resources of the Boers were few and the treasury was empty. There were no railroads, and it was forty days' travel by ox-cart to Cape Town.

A man named Arnold, in 1884, told a farmer named Geldenhuis that there was gold on his land. Geldenhuis did not believe it, but repeated the gossip and sold his farm to two adventurous brothers named Struben, who put up a mill and began to work the grayish, powdery dirt that has since proved the richest gold ore the earth has ever shown.

The Boer Government proclaimed nine farms public goldfields. Then the rush began. The Boers, always slow where enterprise wins out, were unbelieving. They could not make up their minds to abandon the certainty of cow-punching for the uncertainty of mining, even with rich claims crying for takers. Only a few settled on the Witwatersrand and went to work.

In the meantime the news of the find had spread into British territory. The news caused a sensation in Cape Town, and a horde of adventurers at once set out. Within a year nearly every working-claim was under the spade and nearly all were in English hands. The Boers, on the spot, had made up their minds too late.

The workings of the Witwatersrand—White Water Range, in English—were thirty miles in length when all were developed. The gold was found in a formation seen nowhere else in the world. Regular beds, or "reefs" of dry, powdery conglomerate, in thickness from two to twenty feet, were found throughout this district. This black veldt is the ore. Nowhere else is gold mined and worked so easily or so cheaply.

In 1887, midway in the district and on the site of a hamlet that had become the centre of the industry, a hustling, bustling town was laid out, the city of Johannesburg. It was named after the surveyor. Its altitude is 5,600 feet above the sea. In twelve years the finest and largest city in South Africa had sprung up on the bare mountain side, and the hills have been lined with the huge chimneys, the reservoirs, the

engine-sheds, the stamping-houses and the offices of great works that employ 60,000 native miners and 10,000 Europeans.

Fifteen years ago £10,000, at the outside, would have bought from the burghers that entire group of farms that is now valued at £300,000,000. The gold finds of the Witwatersrand were followed by others within the Transvaal's borders—at De Kaap, at Zoutpansberg, in the Northeast mountains; at Lydenburg, in the same direction; at Malmani, on the Bechuanaland border; at Klerksdorp, and at Heidelberg. All of these develop gold in well-paying quantities.

The capital of the 198 gold mines working at the end of 1897 was £72,772,750. Of these, twenty-eight mines, with a capitalization of £10,000,000, paid £2,950,000 in dividends, or nearly 30 per cent. Sixty-four other mines were producing gold, but paying no dividends, and the remainder were in the course of being opened. The total value of the gold yield in 1897 was £11,650,000, an increase of £3,000,000 over the year before.

In spite of this, there were great losses during 1897, due to unscrupulous speculation, more than four hundred companies having been formed for stock jobbing purposes in localities where no gold existed. Some weak companies went to the wall also.

During the year 1898 the 198 companies had decreased to 137, but those paying dividends had increased from twenty-eight, in 1897, to forty-five. These forty-five companies paid dividends of £5,089,785 on a capital of £20,294,675, or something more than twenty-five per cent.

An English writer, the Earl of Dunmore, in a magazine published in London in 1895, described the tenth day of July of that year as a red letter day in the calendar of the Transvaal, because the chairman of the British Stock Exchange in Johannesburg was able to make the extraordinary announcement that the output of gold for the month of July, 1895, had reached the hitherto unprecedented amount of 200,941 ounces, representing in money a sum equivalent to £775,000 (\$3,875,000).

The quantity of gold mined in the Rand, the local name for the Witwatersrand gold reefs, had, therefore, for a long time exceeded the best records of California, Australia or any other of the great gold sections. During 1893 alone the shipments of gold amounted to £5,500,000; and the Rand reefs were said to yield, in 1895, over 25 per cent. of the total gold supply of the country.



From 1887 until the first part of 1895, 10,110,000 tons of ore had been extracted, yielding 6,544,384 ounces of gold, worth about £3 8s an ounce, and having a gross value, in round numbers, of £22,000,000. The dividends paid in the same period amounted to, in round figures, £4,600,000, or 20 per cent. of the output.

The value of the output of the fifty producing mines on the first day of January, 1895, was £32,000,000.

The output per year, in ounces, since gold was discovered in the Transvaal up to 1896, was as follows: 1887, 28,754; 1888, 240,266; 1889, 366,023; 1890, 479,302; 1891, 727,912; 1892, 1,150,519; 1893, 1,381,128; 1894, 1,837,773; 1895, about 2,000,000.

This meant that the increase in the world's output was due, to the extent of 56 per cent., to these mines.

Who could wonder that the British coveted them?

While the British coveted the gold mines of the Transvaal, the Boers had an equal longing for the diamond mines at Kimberley, Cape Colony.

The diamond mines of Kimberley furnish from ninety to ninety-five per cent. of all the diamonds sold.

Yet the discovery of diamonds in South Africa dates about thirty years back. One day in 1867 the children of a Boer farmer, who lived on a farm seventeen hours' ride west of Hopetown, on the bank of the Orange river, were playing with some stones they had found in its bed.

An ostrich hunter named O'Reilly happened to pass, and the Boer farmer, Van Niekerk, called his attention to an especially brilliant stone that a Griqua boy had found. O'Reilly was startled. He scratched on a pane of glass with the stone, and immediately decided that he had a diamond in his hand. He promised the Boer half of whatever it proved to be worth, and wanted to follow up the search at once.

O'Reilly, after many wanderings went to a physician in Graham's Town, a Dr. Atherstone, who was the first to recognize the great value of his "find." He recognized it as a diamond in a moment, and estimated its weight at 21 3-16 carats. A little later this stone was sold to Sir Philip Wodehouse, then governor of Cape Colony, for \$2,500. O'Reilly soon brought another stone from the same locality, which weighed 8 7-8 carats, and it was sold to the same person for \$1,000. One of the most beautiful of the South African diamonds

later came from Van Niekerk's farm on Orange river, the so-called "Star of South Africa," weighing 83 1-2 carats, found by a Kaffir. The brilliant that was later cut from it came into the possession of the Earl of Dudley for \$125,000.

Very soon after the first report of these discoveries the Orange river was crowded with white, black and yellow Europeans, Kaffirs and Hottentots, and here and there they succeeded in finding a few diamonds. Thence the search spread to the bed of the river Vaal, and here on the property of the Berlin Missionary Society, at Poniel, camps were pitched and the work began in earnest.

New diamond diggings were discovered in 1870, again by children playing with stones. This was on the high tableland, where their existence had not been suspected. It was on the farm of Du Toits Pan, between the Vaal and the Modder rivers. It was in the mud, which had been used to build his house, that the children saw a shining object, and dug out a diamond. In pulling up a plant another child found a diamond weighing eighty carats clinging to the roots.

In July, 1871, the richest mine of all was found on the Kolesberg-Kopje. The old mines were abandoned, and then came De Beers' "new rush." The town of Kimberley was founded in the neighborhood of this mine, being named after the British colonial secretary at that time, Lord Kimberley, and the mine was known as the Kimberley mine. Later some small diggings were found in the Orange Free State, Kossifontein and Jagersfontein, from which some of the diamonds of the first water have since been taken.

Confusion and disorder reigned among the frenzied fortune hunters, and political confusion followed in the claim of the Orange Free State to Kimberley and the mines around it. The British government held that this was British territory, and to make its claim good purchased the claim of an old Griqua chief to this land.

The British referred the matter for arbitration, notwithstanding the protest of the Orange Free State, making a British officer the umpire. Of course it was decided in favor of Great Britain. The Free State protested in vain against the decision. Great Britain claimed that its power was necessary to preserve order, and the Free State was obliged to accept £90,000 for its claim. The incident was not forgotten by the Free State Boers, and was no small incentive to them to decide to aid the South African Republic.



Eventually the miners began to combine for the formation of companies to purchase machinery that they might go to the deeper levels where the famous "blue ground" lay, filled with diamonds. By 1885 many of these companies were at work, and then a further combination of their interests took place in the formation of the De Beers Consolidated Company, Limited. The moving spirits in this combination were Barney Barnato and Cecil Rhodes. This company now pays a dividend of ten millions annually on a nominal capital of twenty millions.

The latest improvements in mining machinery have been adopted, and the best engineers, including many Americans, are engaged in conducting the work. The "yellow earth" of the surface, in which the early prospectors found their wealth, has been dug through and the "blue ground" is being worked to unprecedented depths. This peculiar formation appears to be practically inexhaustible.

Nowhere else is this peculiar blue quartz to be found, so it has been called kimberlite. It is very hard, but alters and softens under moisture and air. The miners have taken advantage of this, and the large companies haul the blue ground to the surface and spread it out to disintegrate naturally. It is spread out on floors surrounded by armed guards night and day, and there it is first harrowed by two engines some 500 yards apart dragging the harrows over it.

There it stays for six months or a year, and it is then sent to the crushing works, where it is washed and rolled by machinery until every bit of foreign matter has been removed and the diamonds alone remain. Some bits that do not pulverize under the harrow are called hard blue, and are picked out by hand and carefully treated separately, for large stones are sometimes in these hard masses of rock.

The work in the mines is done chiefly by Kaffirs, who wield the drills and use the dynamite for the blasting with little inconvenience. They are engaged for a specified number of weeks, during which they are kept in a well-guarded compound, fed, and, if ill, treated by the company. Only at the end of their term of service are they paid and permitted to leave, when they return with what seems to them untold wealth, to buy a wife and set up housekeeping in their home, some weeks' journey away.

All kinds of precautions are taken to prevent them from stealing diamonds which they find while at work. As each man leaves the

mine he must strip to the skin and submit to a search of mouth, ears and nose. Even if he were to swallow a diamond he would be caught. The companies try to prevent stealing by offering premiums for the finding of large stones, but, strange to say, all of the precautions have not prevented the largest diamonds from reaching the market through private persons.

The diggings at Kimberley have done much to explain the formation of the diamond itself, for kimberlite is recognized by all authorities as being of eruptive origin, and the diamond in it must have been formed by the tremendous heat generated at the time of the eruption. In fact, the mines look like chimneys, or "pipes," as they are called, the blue ground running down toward the center of the earth like a huge water pipe.

The depth of the mines is very great, a level in the Kimberley being 1,520 feet down and in the De Beers 1,500 feet. Most of the mining now is done underground by galleries running to the central shaft. This prevents many accidents, and is a great economy in space and time.

To give some idea of the amount of work done in these mines, at the De Beers, during twelve working days in November, 1897, eight and three-quarters tons of dynamite, 65,100 feet (twelve and one-third miles) of fuse and 32,500 fuse caps were used. This mine never yields less than 900 pounds of diamonds annually, washing 2,409,030 tons of blue ground for them.

The sorting of the stones is an art and science in one. Good eyes and judgment are necessary. Here are found some with deep tints of brown, pink and yellow, which are most valuable, being classified as fancy stones. Those with slight shades are least valuable, and the pure white rank next.

The largest diamond ever found in the world was discovered here in 1893, and is known as Excelsior. It weighed 971 3-4 carats, and was discovered at Jagersfontein. It far surpassed the De Beers, found some time before, which weighed only 428 1-2 carats, yet was quite a diamond itself.



CHAPTER VI.

THE BOER OF THE TRANSVAAL.

Before going any farther into the history of the Transvaal and its troubles, it may be interesting to give some idea of the Boers of the Transvaal as they are to-day, or, perhaps, as they were just before the outbreak of the war with Great Britain. There are different ways of looking at things. In England they look at the Boer from one standpoint. Americans can see the Boer from another point of view. Therefore, we will first show the Boer as seen through British spectacles. The following sketch of the Transvaal Boers is from the London Times, the great "thunderer" of the British press, written some three years ago, or just as the crisis which brought about the present war was slowly but surely simmering over the fire of politics.

In remote places and upon the frontiers, the Transvaal Boer lives much as his father did a hundred—nay, two hundred—years ago. You may still find here and there the ancient evening custom of washing the feet—a black servant performing the office; the great Bible is solemnly read night and morning, and prayer offered up; corn is still trodden out among the smaller farmers by means of horses and mules, and winnowed by casting in the air on a windy day; the good man still banks his money in the great chest and keeps it under his bed. He has heard of banks, but he doesn't believe in them, and laughs at the idea of a man paying you to take charge of your money. This refers, of course, to the more primitive sort of Boer.

In some farm houses where timber is scanty the Dutch farmer keeps by him, sawed up and stored away in a corner, the planks for his "dood-kist," or coffin, ready against the time when his last hour shall have come. You will sometimes find a Boer who still believes, as did his great-great-grandfather before him, that dried tortoise blood is good for snakebite. Many wild beliefs and superstitions, indeed, have the more ignorant Boers. The English writer has been assured by some of them that a fabulous creature with the head of a rock-rabbit and the body of a huge serpent lives in the mountains. This dragon-like belief is, curiously enough, very widespread. In the smaller farm house you will find the Boer, his vrouw and family still sleeping

in their clothes, as their fathers did in the days when nocturnal alarms constantly threatened. And you will find, too, that the family ablutions are of the scantiest. Yet ablutions are not too generously resorted to even in many parts of Britain, and water is often a scarce commodity in South Africa. As for superstitions, "spooks," and the like, you may find them flourishing to this hour, not only in Ireland and the wilder parts of Scotland, but even in the quieter nooks of overcrowded England itself.

Big, brawny, and strong as are these people, one cannot call them a handsome race. There is too often a lack of expression, a dull vacancy in their faces, such as one sees elsewhere among a people who live in solitudes far apart from their fellow men. Such a look you may often see among the Norwegians living in gloomy and remote "dals." Indeed, there is a strong resemblance between many of the Norwegian peasant-proprietors and the Boers of South Africa. The Boer is, however, a much wealthier man than the Scandinavian. Now and then one sees a really good-looking Dutchman. The writer met on the Limpopo river, not long since, one of the handsomest old men he ever saw. His fine old head was a perfect picture. Curiously enough, his name was a Huguenot one.

Paul Kruger, the Transvaal President, is a very good type of the shrewd, slow, yet dogged and determined South African Dutchman. Broad, homely features, such as his are to be seen everywhere. No doubt, if the Boer were clipped, trimmed and smartened up, he would be a much more presentable figure. The writer has seen one or two Dutchmen, settled in British Bechuanaland, who, from mingling with the English, had adopted some of their habits—especially that of shaving—so transformed for the better as to be hardly recognizable for men of their class.

The women, as a rule, do not approach the fresh and simple beauty so often to be found among the girls and young women of Norway. Here and there you will find a handsome Dutch girl, but not often. Their dress, usually plain stuff or print, and the hideous poke sun bonnets they affect are not calculated to add to their attractions. They are, too, curiously afraid of exposing their complexions to the bright sunshine of their splendid climate, and are often pale and pasty in appearance. It is amusing to see the care with which a plain Boer woman on trek, living in her wagon, will guard her complexion, and



carefully keep her hands beneath her black apron upon every available opportunity.

Yet, despite their somewhat plain appearance, the Boer vrouws of South Africa are excellent women, sharp in business matters, full of the strongest affection for their land and people, able and willing to endure all sorts of toil and privation, the best of wives and mothers, strong and of sound constitution. The Boer is the "family man" personified. He has usually a large family, he is excessively uxorious, and it is amusing to find how, even on distant hunting expeditions, when he is in eager quest of ivory and skins, he is yearning to hurry home to his family. Tell him that you have a wife and children, and you go up a hundred per cent. in his estimation. The writer was trekking through North Bechuanaland recently and met with some rough Waterberg Boers. We outspanned together, had coffee and a smoke, and later on some practice with a new magazine carbine of mine. We got on very well together, but, directly I happened to mention that I had a wife and children, their friendliness became redoubled. I was plied with all sorts of questions on the subject, and had in turn to submit to the several family histories of my Dutch acquaintances. These farmers spent a long afternoon on my wagon, as we trekked slowly along; we sampled one another's tobacco, exchanged ideas, and parted the best of friends.

A curious instance of this trait of the Boer character happened at the battle of Boom Plaats in 1848, when Sir Harry Smith defeated the Boers of the Orange Free State, then known as the Orange River (British) Sovereignty. A British soldier was wounded, and about to be again shot at by the Dutch farmers. The man knew their ways and cried out for quarter, adding that he was father of a family. The Boers not only spared his life, but rendered him assistance, although themselves under fire.

Lord Randolph Churchill, in his book on South Africa, made some very severe and, in the main, unfair strictures on the Transvaal Dutchmen. He mentions various things that might be done "if God had only given a glimmer of intelligence to the Boer." He predicts of these people that "they will pass away unhonored, unlamented, scarcely even remembered, either by the native or European settler." And again he says: "It may be asserted, generally, with truth, that he never plants a tree, never digs a well, never makes a road, never grows

a blade of corn." I entirely differ from these conclusions. That which I have already stated will, I think, sufficiently disprove the first two quotations. As to the planting and agriculture, with the exception of the British and German farmers in the Eastern province of Cape Colony and of Natal, the Boer has been the only man who has made the land his home and attempted to improve it. The magnificent vineyards and fruit farms near the Cape, the trees of Cape Town, the splendid old oak avenues of Paarl and Stellenbosch, the fruit trees and foilage of Graaff Reinet, Uitenhage, and most other towns of Cape Colony, all these are the handiwork of the old Dutch settlers.

Beyond the Vaal it is notorious that, except at Johannesburg, which is entirely an English city, the only tree-planting and fruit-growing, and, indeed, agriculture generally, is done by the Dutch settlers; the wells, the dams, such roads as do exist, are mainly the work of the Dutch. The roads, I will admit at once, whether in Bechuanaland (British territory) or in the Transvaal and Free State (Dutch territory), are not good. They are, indeed, mere tracks. But it is to be remembered that spaces in South Africa are immense, and that the upcountry population is very sparse, and one cannot expect to find roads in new and little-settled territories kept as are roads in England. In Cape Colony nearly the whole of the wheat-growing is done by the Dutch farmers of the Western province. More wheat might certainly be produced, but the population is sparse, farmers are not overburdened with capital, and markets are usually very far distant from the place of production. In the interior the bulk of the grain used is supplied by the Transvaal Dutch farmer. Nearly every bag of Boer meal (used for bread-making) comes from the Transvaal. The whole of the fruit crop is produced by the Boers. In Rustenberg and Marico, as you drive along, you pass homestead after homestead where groves of magnificent oranges, peaches, nectarines, apricots, pears, quinces, and other trees are burdened with delicious fruit. The corn lands and crops here are magnificent, water is plentiful, irrigation largely made use of; the homesteads are often equal to English farm houses, threshing machines are in use, and agriculture is good and systematic. Even far up in Bechuanaland you will find Boer wagons from these districts loaded up with oranges, fruit, oat-forage, and other produce.

The towns of Zeerust, Rustenberg, Potchefstroom, and Pretoria



are well planted with trees, and are bountifully supplied with fruit gardens. Yet all these places are founded and planted by the Dutch, and exhibit to-day the results of the care, labor, and forethought of the early "voor-trekkers" who conquered and took possession of the soil.

It is to be remembered that the average Boer is not, like the average Briton, Jew or German, anxious to make his fortune and leave the country. He looks, and will always look, upon Africa as his home. He desires only to live in a moderate degree of comfort, in a rude plenty, to provide for his children as they grow up, and to be let alone. He shuns towns, shopkeeping, and gold-mining. I am not sure that the South African pastoralist, in his primitive, simple way of life, is not a far happier man than the millions who are toiling, fighting and elbowing one another to death for a living in a highly civilized community. Is not the quiet, slow-moving Boer a thousand times better off in his healthy life, blessed with space, freedom, and perennial sunshine, the finest climate in the world, and as much as he requires to eat and drink, than, say, three out of the four millions of people who inhabit London? He is not highly educated or cultured, it is true—far from it. But how many of the millions of Great Britain have the time or the opportunity to acquire any better culture than they may snap from a perusal of the daily paper? The Boer looks at Johannesburg; he sees there a few men growing enormously rich, a great many struggling for a living as at home, crowded together, often in a state of excessive discomfort; he sees an immense amount of hard drinking and a good deal of chicanery, cheating, vice, and even crime. Is it to be wondered at that he shakes his head as he drives out with his ox-wagon, and congratulates himself that he is still a Boer? Nay, he may ask himself whether John Kaffir or April Hottentot, even, who live in the free air and under God's sunshine, and have enough to eat and drink, are not better off than numbers of the meaner of these civilized European folk.

But there are Boers and Boers. Many of the richer, less bigoted, and more shrewd of the farmers have begun to find that the influx of the English, their gold discoveries, and the wealth they are bringing into the country are not such ill things after all. Contact with the British has indeed worked wonders already. Even the more primitive of the farmers have discovered that the Englishman is not so bad a

fellow. It is curious to see these heavy Dutch farmers coming into English hotels in the Transvaal and Bechuanaland, enjoying the table d'hôte fare, and rubbing elbows with their quondam foes. Many of the Boers have benefited largely by the sale of their land as gold properties, large numbers by the opening of new markets and the constant demand for cattle and farm produce. Some few, such as Kruger, Joubert, and others, have profited by their opportunities, and are now very wealthy men. Some of the wealthier farmers are now sending their sons to be educated in Europe; some have English governesses in their houses; a considerable proportion of the rising generation can speak the English language. The majority of these men, the wealthier, the more reasonable, the least ignorant, although resisting as long as possible the inevitable transformation of their country into a practically British settlement, may be trusted in the future to settle down under British supremacy and British guidance. As for the remainder, there are strong signs that they are preparing quietly to betake themselves from the bustle and turmoil of modern civilization, which they see rapidly approaching, and seek new homes elsewhere.

A certain element of the Transvaal Boers, the Doppers—a severely Calvinistic sect; the frontier men and hunters; the poorer, the discontented, and those still bitten with the restlessness, the hatred of taxation, of any form of government, exhibited by their forefathers, have been gradually filtering out of the country. In 1877-78 there was a great trek toward Ovampoland, the remnant of which, after long wandering and terrible sufferings in the wilderness, is now settled in Portuguese territory, near Mossamedes. Other small expeditions have been slowly moving out of the Transvaal.

During the past year the old trek spirit has suddenly and wonderfully revived. Large numbers of Boers are preparing to settle in N'gami-land, the Kalahari, and the country beyond. Others are starting for Gazaland, to the northeast of the Transvaal. A deputation of "voortrekkers" was actually sent by sea to Zanzibar a year or so ago to spy out the land in Central Africa and see if some country could not be found free from any government, taxation, or white population, whither thoroughbred Boers might trek and rest in peace.

Cecil Rhodes, apparently, is not very desirous to see this class of Boer—a somewhat unmanageable one—settled in Mashonaland or Matabeleland, and has been favoring their movement toward the North



Kalahari and N'gamiland. From personal experience of this region I cannot say that it is very well fitted to support such an influx of farmers. Probably the trek Boers will find out their mistake and move farther afield. The Portuguese are, it seems, not desirous to have more of them on the west coast, and we may therefore hear, within a few years, of fresh Boer settlements in Katanga, and even far into Central Africa. It is quite possible—nay, even probable—that within fifty years the descendants of these wanderers may be found settled near the sources of the Nile, still in as primitive a state of civilization as were their forefathers at the Cape two hundred and fifty years ago.

Those Boers who remain behind and decline to take part in further northward treks will probably, as is the case in Cape Colony, form the settled rural population of the country, commanding a large share of the voting power, steadily progressing, and mingling more and more with the British. Already in British Bechuanaland (till lately a Crown colony) one may see very healthy signs of the future. There, month by month, Dutch farmers from the Orange Free State and Transvaal have for some years been taking up land and settling down with perfect contentment under a direct imperial rule. But, whatever is to be the future of South Africa, the sturdy old Boer stock, compounded by many virtues and of pardonable failings, will never, it may be safely predicted, die out from the land. Rather will it grow and thrive, a source of strength and backbone to future generations of colonists.

The following account of the trouble between the Boers and Outlanders is from Frank Owen, a graduate of the Royal School of Mines, London; an associate member of the Institution of Civil Engineers, London, and also a member of the American Institute of Mining Engineers of New York. Mr. Owen spent some time in the Transvaal and other parts of South Africa. Writing from Boulder county, Colorado, Mr. Owen said, shortly after the war broke out:

So much misapprehension seems to prevail among the American people and press regarding the present attitude of the British in South Africa that a true statement of some of the leading features of the case may not be inopportune. As an Englishman and as a mining engineer who is well acquainted with the Transvaal gold-fields, I have had as good opportunities of judging the situation as most people, and certainly far better than many self-constituted critics. The able letters of Julian Ralph, in the *Brooklyn Eagle*, and the lucid

statements of the eminent American mining engineer, John Hays Hammond, in the New York Herald, are so far the only impartial criticisms of the subject that I have seen in this country. Mr. Hammond's views especially, both from his long acquaintance with South Africa and his deservedly high reputation as an engineer, should be entitled to the highest consideration.

To those who know of the enormous sums of secret service money—collected, by the way, entirely by heavy imposts on the unfortunate Outlanders—expended by the government of the South African Republic, it is not surprising to see their side of the question is so prominent. The Standard and Diggers' News, which represents the Transvaal interests in Europe, is well known to be a heavily-subsidized Boer organ. People who really know anything about life in South Africa would just as soon think of attaching importance to the hysterical nonsense written by Olive Schreiner as they would to "Ouida's" quaint ideas of life in English society. It is amusing to Englishmen to see the views of a notoriety-hunting nonentity like Stead treated seriously over here, as it would be to Americans to see prominence given in England to Edward Atkinson's opinion on the campaign in the Philippines.

The government of the South African Republic has from the very first consistently crippled and injured the mining industry of the Witwatersrand by every means in its power. Competent experts have estimated that their exactions have increased the cost of mining \$2 per ton. That, in spite of all this, so much gold has been produced and a profit has been made, is only due to the wonderful extent and permanence of the auriferous deposits and to the skill and energy of the engineers on those fields, many of them Americans.

The whole question finally resolves itself into the same principle for which George Washington took up arms, namely, that there must not be taxation of a people without adequate representation. Every adult Outlander has to pay a yearly poll-tax, and this without conveying any accompanying civil right. This same tax caused a popular uprising in England in the fourteenth century and was, consequently, abolished. The Boer burghers, or voters, of whom there are some 30,000, as against 120,000 Outlanders, in Johannesburg alone, pay no taxes of any kind.

The government has conceded to a German, Edward Lippert, the

exclusive privilege of the manufacture of explosives in the Transvaal for a term of years. Thus, the very first essentials of mining are only procurable at more than double the price at which they could be imported from America or Europe, and of poor quality at that. This state of things might do in Venezuela or Santo Domingo, but people who came from a civilized country cannot be expected to tolerate it. The English language is not allowed to be taught in the public schools to the children of English-speaking people—indeed it took years to get the privilege of having schools at all.

It was only after the sanitary condition of Johannesburg became so pestilent on account of the abnormally rapid increase of population, so that typhoid was rampant in all quarters, that the foreign inhabitants were allowed to organize a sanitary commission to carry out what was necessary—not a municipality. Even then, this commission, though composed entirely of English-speaking people, were actually compelled to conduct their proceedings in the taal (Cape Dutch), through the medium of an official interpreter. The right of public meeting to discuss these and many other grievances is denied, and the meetings are broken up by force of arms.

The English, in short, are only struggling to obtain a tithe of the political privileges so freely accorded to the Dutch inhabitants of Cape Colony and Natal under British dominion.

The matter was brought to a crisis early in the present year by the brutal murder of a British subject by a Boer policeman. Edgar, the victim in question, was peaceably attending a public meeting of Outlanders, when he was deliberately shot down, without provocation. The appeals of his unfortunate widow for justice were largely the cause of at last directing serious attention in England to the state of affairs in the Transvaal, with the present result.

The estimates I have seen quoted in this country as to the fighting strength of the Boers are considered largely exaggerated by those best acquainted with South Africa. Considering the brutal treatment the Kaffirs invariably receive from the Boers (who, indeed, look on them as slaves) it is not likely, as stated in some quarters, that the blacks will fight for their oppressors. I have seen a miserable Kaffir tied to the wheel of a wagon and unmercifully flogged with a "sjambok" (a rawhide whip) by a young Boer, while a large crowd of older Boers looked on, laughing and applauding. In the British colonies no

man may lift his hand against a native without swift and certain punishment. It is far more likely that in parts the blacks will take the opportunity of rising against the Boers.

When I was in Swaziland, in 1895, such an uprising of the natives was imminent and was only quelled by the influence of the British residents. The Swazis number about 35,000 fighting men of fine physique. They hate the Boers, and have repeatedly begged to be incorporated in the British Empire. To conciliate the South African Republic the latter were allowed by Great Britain to have this country annexed in 1896.

A great deal is said about the Boers being such earnest Christians. They cannot, however, study their Bibles to much purpose, since all who know them can bear evidence that the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Commandments are practically a dead letter in the Transvaal. From personal experience I can testify that the Boer is as filthy in his person as in his morals.

England does not want war, and has nothing to gain by war with the Transvaal; but must fight to protect the rights of her down-trodden subjects and so maintain her position as the paramount power in Africa. On the contrary, the cost of the war will be exceedingly high and the material interests at stake are enormous. This can be seen when it is remembered that (according to the Engineering and Mining Journal of September 2, 1899), the Transvaal mines produced gold to the value of \$78,070,761, against the entire output of the United States of \$65,082,430. English people all the world over, and especially in America, will be grateful to President McKinley and his advisers for their wise and dignified attitude during this crisis, and will rejoice over the well-merited snubs administered to Bourke Cockran and General O'Beirne. Deeply as all right-thinking Englishmen appreciate the good will and esteem of the great American people, even these could have been too dearly purchased were the price national self-respect.

Having pictured the Boer and Outlander from the British standpoint, it will be refreshing to see the Boer pictured by an American. Benjamin Davis, of New York City, September 12, 1899, gave the following version of the Boer:

The social status of the Transvaal may be summed up in a view of each of the three classes of people composing its population. The



SCENE AT A RECRUITING STATION IN CAPE TOWN.



SOME OF THE OFFICERS OF THE 1ST GRENADIER REGIMENT OF FOOT GUARDS—BRITISH ARMY.



Boers are the descendants of the original Dutch settlers. They are the proprietors of the government, and guard their public offices very jealously from the intrusion of foreigners. The Boers know too well that foreigners would soon be in possession of all the available offices if they get a loophole. The Boers in fact are a degenerate class when compared with their ancestors, and the same degeneracy which makes them inferior mentally makes them less able to carry out a war than their fathers were before them. It would take some time for them to become as accurate marksmen or as reliable soldiers. Their fathers lived in the open and made hunting and fighting their daily occupation, while to-day more fighting goes on in the streets of their cities than ever takes place in the open.

The cause of a great deal of disturbance in the South African Republic is the presence of the Kaffirs, who are maltreated and looked down upon by everybody, and used in a most ruffianly manner whenever sufficient motive dictates. The Kaffirs are the original natives of the country, and are brought down in large numbers from lands north of the Transvaal to work in the rich gold mines of the foreigners. Agents make a profitable business of securing labor from the chieftains, whose word is law in their own tribes. To do this, the agent must go among the Kaffirs and live with them as one of them, sharing their hospitality and eating out of the same bowl with them. When the proper stage of friendship has been reached, the agent goes to the chief and asks for a hundred men. If he is successful, the chief orders them to go with him and hire themselves out to the owners of whatever mine he may direct. For this the chief receives perhaps fifty cents a head, and the agent takes his hundred men to the railroad, packs them away in trucks, conveys them to the most promising mine owner, and turns them over at ten dollars each. From that time on the Kaffir receives weekly wages of seven dollars and a half, but he is like a dog in a city, carrying a license-tag with him wherever he goes.

The Kaffir is not allowed like other men to walk on the sidewalks of Johannesburg. He must stay in the street, and infraction of this law involves a heavy penalty. A Kaffir is frequently taken to jail for two weeks and given twenty-five stripes for no greater offence, while killing of the Kaffirs for resistance when invited to their punishment is an every week occurrence. Killing, indeed, is carried on among all classes on rather a larger scale than the ordinary civilized

country sees. Johannesburg may be fairly said to equal the descriptions which the comic papers publish to represent the American West. People sitting on the veranda of their hotel at six o'clock in the twilight which prevails at that time are murdered without apparent reason. Kaffirs think it no unusual deed to kill and rob the storekeeper who furnishes them with the various necessities of life. Bank robberies take place in open daylight, following the usual programmes of fiction.

The foreigners in the Transvaal represent the moneyed population and are the chief capitalists interested in the immense mines of the country. These mines are the most extensive in existence, the region in which they are stretching for hundreds of miles across the Transvaal. The amount of gold contained in this reef is now known, but no one has been far enough down to get below it. Others estimate that there is sufficient to provide undiminishing returns for a hundred years to come, although the output at present is enormous and increasing day by day. The profit on most kinds of importation and customs is frequently one hundred and fifty per cent. The cost of living is not much higher than elsewhere.

Augustus Hopper Kruger, a half-brother of President Kruger, who was in the United States on his way home in October, 1899, discussing the prospects of war between Great Britain and the Transvaal, said:

"If war should be declared by the British I think the Boers will win, for the reason that they are fighting for their independence, just as the Americans were in 1776. They know every foot of their territory; they command all the important passes; they are as good shots as the United States soldiers, and can pick off the British just like shooting redbirds off a fence; they have the right on their side; they know if they lose their identity they will be forever swallowed up in the mighty British Empire; they love their freedom and will willingly die rather than surrender it, and before the English conquer the country they will wade through blood, sacrifice fully fifty thousand lives of their own troops and expend fully \$500,000,000, if not more.

"I have sons and grandsons in Nebraska who will follow me to South Africa in a few weeks. I am about sixty years of age, and yet I am a good rifleshooter, and before I cross the Jordan I hope to take a few Englishmen with me. That is how all the Boers feel. They think the present prospective war is simply a trick on the part of Mr.



Chamberlain to gain possession of the Transvaal, and they know Chamberlain to be purely an unscrupulous politician, who will stop at nothing. However, he merely represents the British idea of aggrandizement. The English are relentless. They make up their minds to do a thing, and they will do it, no matter what the cost. Only twice have they failed, and both times against the United States. They gave up this republic because it was simply unconquerable, and acknowledged themselves beaten because the United States can defy the world and come off victorious.

"The Boers are good shots, as I have said, and they will send many an Englishman to his eternal account. If we lose in this fight, we lose everything. Therefore, we had better die, and the best thing we can do is to make the bloodiest fight possible. I have one nephew in Nebraska, fifteen years old, a fine shot with a rifle, who will leave soon for South Africa, and his main ambition before he dies is to kill an Englishman. That is the temper of our people."

The language of the Boers in South Africa is grammatically the language of the people of Holland. They speak Dutch as their forefathers in Holland spoke it, and as it is spoken there now. They are called Boers because that is a Dutch word which describes them. It means a farmer, and agriculture is the main pursuit of the compatriots of Oom Paul. A knowledge of Dutch would supply an explanation of the odd-looking words that are used now and then in the news reports from the Transvaal. It would also enable one to pronounce these words as they should be enunciated.

Dutch diphthongs are not given the same sounds as their equivalents in English. The double "o," for instance, in Dutch has the same sound as "o" in Rome, while the diphthong "oe" is pronounced by the Dutch as we pronounce "oo" in boot. The English pronunciation of these two diphthongs is the reverse of that given them by those who speak Dutch. And "ou" has the sound of "ow" in owl. The sound of "ui" is nearly like that of the English "oy" in boy. The Dutch double "aa" is the same as the English "a" in war. As there is no "y" in Dutch its place is taken by "ij," which is sounded as "y" in defy.

If one, therefore, would pronounce Oom Paul properly he would say it as if it were spelled Ome Powl. The family name of General Joubert would, for the same reason, be pronounced as if it were spelled

Yowbert. The word Boer is pronounced by the Afrikaner as if it were of two syllables, the first long and the second short, thus: Boo-er. The plural is not Boers. It is Boeren, and it is pronounced Bo-er-eh, because the final "n" is slurred.

Here are some of the Dutch words that are oftenest in print in connection with the news of the Transvaal, and their pronunciation and meaning:

| | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| Bloemfontein (bloom-fon-tine) | Flower fountain |
| Boer (boo-er) | Farmer |
| Buitenlander (boy-ten-lont-er) | Foreigner |
| Burgher (buhr-ker) | Citizen |
| Burgerregt (buhr-ker-rekt) | Citizenship |
| Burgerwacht (buhr-ker-vokt) | Citizen soldiery |
| Jonkherr (yunk-hare) | Member of the Volksraad; gentleman |
| Oom (ome) | Uncle |
| Raad (rahd) | Senate |
| Raadsheer (rahds-hare) | Senator |
| Raadhuis (rahd-hoys) | Senate House |
| Rand (rahnt) | Margin; edge |
| Staat (staht) | State |
| Staatkunde (staht-kuhn-de) | Politics |
| Staatsraad (stahts-rahd) | Council of State |
| Stad (stot) | City |
| Stemmer (stem-mer) | Voter; elector |
| Transvaal (trons-fahl) | Circular valley |
| Trek (treck) | Draught; journey |
| Trekken (treck-eh) | To draw; to travel |
| Trekpaard (treck-pahrd) | Draft horse |
| Uit (oyt) | Out; out of |
| Uitlander (oyt-lont-er) | Foreigner |
| Vaal (fahl) | Valley |
| Vaderlandsliefde (fah-ter-lonts-leef-te) | Love of one's country; |
| |patriotism |
| Veld (felt) | Field; open lands |
| Veldheer (felt-hare) | General; commandant |
| Veldwachter (felt-vock-ter) | Rural guard |
| Volksraad (fulks-rahd) | Lower House of Congress |



HON. J. H. HOFMEYER,
Leader of Afrikaner Bond Party in Cape Colony.

GEN. SCHALK BURGER,
In Command of Boers on Eastern Transvaal Border.

HON. W. P. SCHREINER,
Premier of Cape Colony.

COMMANDANT WEILBACH,
Prominent Boer Commander.

GENERAL CRONJE,
In Command of Boers on Western Transvaal Border.



OFFICERS IN BRITISH SOUTH AFRICAN SERVICE.
 MAJ.-GEN. HILDYARD. MAJ.-GEN. SIR H. E. COLVILE. MAJ.-GEN. FRENCH.
 COL. T. C. PORTER. MAJ.-GEN. FITZROY HART.



Voorregt (fore-rekt) Franchise; privilege
Vreemdeling (frame-da-ling) Stranger
Witwatersrand (vit-vot-ters-ront) Margin of the white water

Pretoria, the capital of the South African Republic, is named in honor of its first President, Pretorius, who led the Dutch in the great trek, or journey, out of Cape Colony sixty years ago, and into the Transvaal to escape the dominion of England.

Johannesburg is easily translated into English as Johnstown.

The term Afrikander is used to differentiate the Dutch from the other white people of South Africa.

CHAPTER VII.

THE OUTLANDER OF THE TRANSVAAL.

Having presented to our readers the Boer of the present day, as viewed by the British, we must now, from the same standpoint, show the Outlander of to-day. The Outlander, or Uitlander, is the general term applied to foreigners in the Transvaal, or, for that matter, to foreigners in the Orange Free State. The Outlander is the bete noir of the Boer of all classes. The Boer never loves a "foreigner" of any description, though he may feel somewhat kindly to the "foreigner" of any other nationality than Great Britain. He has quite a regard for the foreign Dutch and for the Germans; he may put up with the presence of Portuguese or—well, almost any other nationality than the British. For the British Outlander he has no sort of regard and the heartiest kind of hatred. This grows out of the history of the past, strongly intensified by the happenings of recent years. The British Outlander, to the Boer, represents the cause of his trekking from Cape Colony in years long gone by, and, above all, he represents the dreaded ascendancy of the British in South Africa, constantly threatening, in various ways, to overwhelm by electoral or other processes, more likely the latter, the two little republics squatting in the midst of rampant imperialism. But, enough on this subject for the present. Let us get down to the Outlander as he is looked upon by the British. The same correspondent who, about three years ago, described the Transvaal Boer for the Times of London, also at the same time gave his ideas of the Outlander. He said:

The population of the Transvaal is divided into three great sections—the Boer, the Outlander, and the Kaffir. Of these sections two are foreign and one is native to the soil. The Kaffirs have occupied the country from time immemorial; the other two sections are both of them new-comers of the last half-century. The first and the smallest foreign section is that composed of the Boer of Dutch descent and British colonial extraction born in Africa, who, trekking from what he conceived to be the oppression of British rule in the Cape Colony, wrested a footing for himself in the native territories across the Vaal by force of arms from the original inhabitants. The estab-

lishment thus made was first recognized as having a political existence by the Sand River Convention of 1852. The Boers claim to have made good their position in 1846. In either case their presence as a power in the state now known as the Transvaal is of less than fifty years' duration.

The number of adult males in this section of the population of the state is estimated at 15,000.

The second foreign influx, to which the Outlander section of the population owes its existence, is of still more recent origin. No exact date can be fixed for the first appearance of Outlanders in the body politic of the Transvaal. Their presence may perhaps be said to have made its first public manifestation in the movement which led to the annexation of the Transvaal by Great Britain in April, 1877, after twenty-five years of precarious existence maintained by whip and rifle, in the teeth of constantly encroaching hordes of hostile natives.


The prosperous second birth of the Transvaal state dates from 1880, when, after the power of Great Britain had been exerted to break up the savage military organizations that threatened the existence of the white community, and the successful termination of the Zulu and Secocoeni wars had given security to life and property across the Vaal, the Boers rose in arms against British authority, and reasserted the independence of the republic. The battle of Majuba Hill was fought in February, 1881 (as already referred to), and the convention signed in August of the same year gave to the republic a complete measure of self-government in relation to its internal administration, with the exception of certain conditions to be observed in regard to native affairs, but reserved the rights of suzerainty of the British Crown. Within five years gold was discovered at Johannesburg, and under the guarantee of British suzerainty an Afrikaner, British, American, and European population poured rapidly into the country. These various elements compose the Outlander body of the present population. The number of adult male Outlanders, occupied chiefly in commercial and industrial development, is estimated at 60,000,

The number of the Kaffir population are estimated at 250,000, but this total includes wives and children.

It has been said by a learned student of history that progressive nations are those in which the rights of free men are enjoyed by the largest number of persons within their borders, and that decaying

nations are those in which the rights of free men are restricted to the smallest number, the most advanced symptom of decline being a state of despotism in which one man alone is free and he the tyrant of the rest. In the Transvaal, under its present constitution, the condition of affairs has approached dangerously near to the last stage. The largest body in the state has been deprived by conquest of all rights; the next largest has been excluded by law from the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship; in the third and smallest body, although the franchise has been extended to children of sixteen, power has practically been concentrated in the hands of an Executive Council, supported by a vote in the First Raad, which needs only to number thirteen in order to have a constitutional majority. In all, twenty-five men more than cover the number who for a given term of years hold absolute power in their hands. Of this small number a considerable proportion are not members of the original Boer section of the community. They are Hollanders imported direct from Holland, partly for the natural reason that they speak the language of the Boer, partly with the object of more effectually controlling the Outlander of non-Dutch-speaking origin. Thus, while the original Boer section of the population has remained the dominant section and has jealously reserved all the rights of citizenship for itself, the executive power of even this section comes very near to being represented in the one individuality of a president three times re-elected, and maintained consecutively in the first position of the state during the fifteen years' existence of the second republic.

The Boer suffers little under this system. The President—though the last election of President Kruger was far from being by a unanimous vote—is, after all, the President of his choice, and the Boer is scarcely interfered with by the administration. He lives still mainly in isolation upon the land. He consumes his own produce, which is untaxed; he has few wants which force him to contribute to the revenue raised upon foreign commodities; he has no desire to concern himself with trade; he takes no part in the development of mineral wealth; he has no wish for education. He hears of corruption in the finances and inefficiency of the civil service. It matters nothing to him; the taxes by means of which the treasury is filled are not levied upon him, and as it is not his money which is wasted he cares little what becomes of it. He asks for no service from the administrative departments. It is all the same to him whether the mining inspectors know their business, or



the police do their duty, or the schools respond to the requirements of the urban population. Patriarchal government was evolved from the conditions of life of a pastoral people. The Boers are to this day a pastoral people, hardy, frugal, simple in their needs, and patriarchal government suits them well enough. Besides, to the simplest of minds there is an infinite satisfaction in the sentiment of belonging to the dominant race. The Boer is a burgher of the state from the age of sixteen. All the privileges of burgherdom are reserved to him, and President Kruger knows his people well enough to know what are the privileges they will value.

The position of the Outlander, under a despotism based on the solid conservatism of the Boer and directed by the ingenuity of the Hollander, is the element which threatens subversion of the whole. The Boer already has, and the Hollander means to have, the entire control of the wealth and policy of the country; but the producers of the wealth and the persons to bear the consequences of the policy are neither Boers nor Hollanders. They are the Outlanders. Their position has long been intolerable, and the patience of the Outlanders now shows signs of having reached its limit.

At the time of the annexation to Great Britain the Transvaal was practically bankrupt. It was in debt and the treasury was empty. But for the intervention of Great Britain and the check given to native enemies of the Transvaal by the Zulu and Secocoeni wars, it is not improbable that the first struggling Dutch Republic would have been finally wiped out in massacre. Courage was never wanting to the Boer, but his numbers were too few, his means too limited, to sustain the struggle of which Great Britain relieved him. The second republic of 1880 was practically a new creation, and in the fifteen years of its existence the Outlander has contributed far more to its construction than the Boer. He discovered and he has worked the mineral wealth. In ten years his numbers have increased comparatively from a handful to a population estimated the other day for the Rand alone at 136,000. He has paid the taxes; he has built the towns; he has constructed the railways; he has established the commerce; he has settled on the land; he has fought in the wars. The state which he found nearly bankrupt has this year an accumulated surplus which was calculated to have reached £2,000,000 sterling. He has not been a mere bird of passage, passing through the land, accumulating wealth

and returning to spend it in his own country. He has made his home, so far as he has been allowed to do so, in the Transvaal. His children have been born there. The magnificent climate and the wealth of the soil, neglected by the Boer, give every guarantee of the permanent settlement of generations. By law his children are still aliens, but it is impossible that they should feel themselves to be aliens in the country of their birth, and it is impossible that the fathers of these children should continue to acquiesce in a total denial to them of civil rights of which the inheritance is so legitimately theirs.

The franchise law of the old republic of the Boers was of the simple kind customary in new states. One year's residence was required, and the newcomer had as little trouble in securing his vote as the London householder who changes his address. After the foundation of the second republic the limit of time was extended to five years, but admission to full burgher rights was still possible of attainment at the end of that period. The delay was felt to be excessive in a country so young as the Transvaal, and the contrast with the franchise law of the Orange Free State, where aliens are admitted to full burgher rights after one year's residence with a property qualification, or three years' residence without a property qualification, was felt to justify strong representations on the subject to President Kruger. The results of these representations were such as have attended most of the peaceful remonstrances addressed by the unenfranchised Outlanders to the Transvaal Government. The franchise law has by successive steps been surrounded with difficulties that remove the possession of full burgher rights by the alien into the region of the impossible.

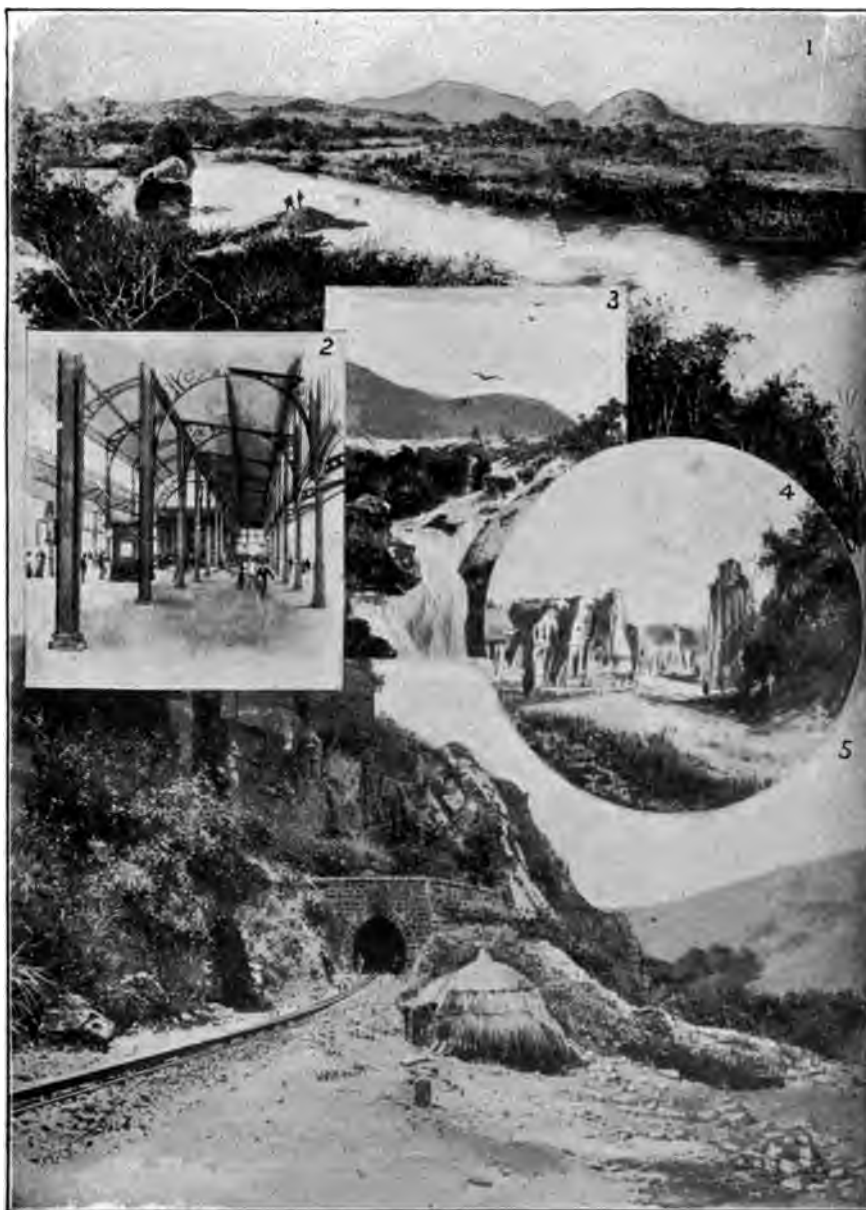
The invention of a second Volksraad, the franchise for which is offered to the Outlander after a period of two years' residence and naturalization, was a device which savored rather of Hollander ingenuity in deception than of Boer downrightness of opposition. The franchise which is offered is worthless, for the first condition of the creation of the second Raad was that the acts of this body must be presented to the consideration of the President and can only become law if he decides to submit them for the approval of the first Raad—and this approval is gained. The legislative capacity of this body is absolutely dependent upon the supreme will of the President, and all real power is divided between the first Raad and the Executive Coun-

cil. The first Raad, it should be stated, is composed of four and twenty members, and the Executive Council numbers, according to circumstances, ten or twelve. Thirteen votes in the first Raad suffice to maintain the President constitutionally in any position he chooses to assume, to regulate the taxation, and to make the laws of the entire population. As the franchise law at present stands, it is provided that every resident in the Transvaal must register himself on the Fieldcornet's books within fourteen days after his arrival or suffer a fine. He is thenceforth subject to taxation, and, after two years of registered residence, he may become naturalized and acquire by this act the right to vote for the second Raad. In order to become naturalized he must, of course, forswear allegiance to his own country and become liable for military and jury service in the Transvaal. In return he obtains nothing but the nominal privilege of voting for the second Raad. After a further period of twelve years he may, by a special resolution of the first Raad and a petition in his favor by two-thirds of the burghers of the ward to which he proposes to belong, be invested with full burgher rights. But at the end of his fourteen years of residence, if the conditions named are absent, he may still find himself excluded from a burgher's rights. For this off-chance at the end of fourteen years—a period almost as long as the entire existence of the new republic—he is asked to forswear the country of his birth, and, in order to force him to accept naturalization on these terms, it is further provided that the children of non-naturalized persons cannot become burghers by the mere fact of birth within the country, but must follow the course prescribed for aliens.

In presence of such a law it is evident that burghers' rights, including the right to vote for the presidential election and for the only effective legislative assembly of the country, will not be accorded to the Outlanders by any existing constitutional authority except under irresistible pressure. Petitions signed by yearly increasing numbers of Outlanders have been sent again and again to the Volksraad and have been received with scorn. The petition of 1894 was signed by 13,000 persons, a number nearly equal to, and the petition of April, 1895, was signed by 38,500 persons, a number more than twice as great as that of the total number of burghers' votes recorded for the election of the President. In both cases the petitioners expressed their readiness to take the very properly required oath of allegiance to

the republic. The petition was received in the Raad by the comment of one member, who announced that he neither knew nor cared whether the memorialists were Englishmen or Coolies, and by the challenge of another member, M. Otto, to the Outlanders to fight for their rights if they dared. It is only fair to add that other members of the first Raad rebuked the language of M. Otto, and that a committee was appointed to investigate the question. It was, however, a committee appointed to do nothing, and, rightly or wrongly, the Outlander community recognize in the expression of M. Otto the frank attitude of the Boer, and in the appointment of the futile commission the no less determined, though less open, opposition to reform of the Hollander element of an antagonistic government.

The franchise question lies at the bottom of all the grievances of the Outlander community, for with this settled the right remedy could with time be brought to all. It is not improbable that the knowledge of the long list of grievances which lies behind hardens the determination of Hollander and Boer alike to resist the claim for representation.



SCENES IN SOUTH AFRICA.—1. Crocodile River. 2. Railway Station, Johannesburg. 3. Crocodile Poort. 4. Alkmaar. 5. Tunnel on Netherlands—Delagoa Bay Railway.



DEFENCES OF THE KIMBERLEY DIAMOND MINES.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE BOERS' SIDE OF THE CASE.

With the British and American views of the Boer before us, this presentation would be incomplete without something about the Boers from their own standpoint. Dr. F. V. Engelenburg, editor of the Pretoria Volksstem, recently wrote the following account of the Boers and the situation. He said:

South Africa is poor, extremely poor, in spite of its gold output of nearly two millions a month and its diamond export of five millions a year.

The disabilities from which South Africa suffers are manifold. The climate is glorious, the soil fertile, but the rainfall is uncertain and irregular. There are large tracts where rain falls only once every four or five years; and, where circumstances are more favorable, there are no natural reservoirs in which water can be stored, or certainly none to any appreciable extent. The rivers, dry in summer time, become foaming torrents in the rainy season, and pour the whole of their waters into the sea. If the Witwatersrand were not situated alongside an extensive formation of dolomite, which absorbs rainwater and stores it up like a sponge, it would have been utterly impossible for its unrivalled gold industry to attain its present condition, and the Boers to-day would be enjoying the rest and peace which they have ever longed for and deserve.

But with the industrious European colonist, schooled and disciplined by labor, can South Africa not produce what is necessary for his support? The white population of this part of the world amounts, in round numbers, to 2,000,000—a very generous estimate—inhabiting a vast extent of country, larger than France, Germany and Italy together. This population is dependent on the outside world, not merely for the products of technical industry, but also for those of agriculture. Should this supply ever be cut off, a large portion of our white and other population would simply starve, or at any rate be deprived of the comforts of life. Only the Boers, who eke out a frugal existence on their secluded farms, and have not yet become dependent on frozen meats, European butter, American meal and Australian potatoes—only the Boers, who

with rare endurance, the heritage of their hardy race, boldly face years of drought, rinderpest, locusts and fever, could survive such a collapse of the economic machinery of a country so severely dealt with by nature.

The first European power which acquired a firm footing in the East Indies, the Portuguese, simply ignored South Africa. The Portuguese were succeeded by the Hollanders, who, not until after much hesitation and two futile attempts to conquer Mozambique, decided to take possession of Africa's southern extremity. And the English, in common with the Hollanders, never desired aught but the few harbors which South Africa possesses; the interior had no value in the eyes of the European maritime powers, which only looked on the opulent East. A clear illustration of this is furnished by the fact that, although possessing Walvisch Bay, England quietly acquiesced in Germany's protectorate over the hinterland; and another instance is to be found in the anxiety which England has recently shown to get hold of Delagoa Bay and Beira. The possession of these harbors would give to the British Empire control of the seaway to the East and to the English merchants such trade with the interior of South Africa as circumstances might permit. Neither the Dutch East India Company nor the British rulers bestirred themselves in any way with the steady expansion of the white colonists of the hinterland.

Under the Dutch East India Company friction often arose between the two white elements of the colony, and when the Cape fell into the hands of the British, in the beginning of the present century, the old antagonism continued to exist. As long as the imperial authorities left the inland colonists to themselves, and only exercised a general repressive control, the relationship between the two white communities of South Africa remained satisfactory, but as soon as the strings were pulled too suddenly from Europe, and the Cape authorities had to carry out a grasping, despotic policy, the two elements inevitably came to loggerheads. The best South African politicians—both British and Boer—are those who have frankly admitted that the political key to South Africa lies in an intelligent insight into the limit which should be allowed to Briton, Boer and Black. In other words, let each of the three fulfill the mission which nature has allotted to him, and then this much vexed continent will enjoy the rest and peace of which it so urgently stands in need.

The first beneficent breathing space which was granted to South

Africa by the fatal British policy was when, in 1852 and 1854—after numberless mistakes had been committed by the Imperial authorities, mistakes which no historian now attempts to deny—the South African Republic and the Free State were respectively left to their own resources, by solemn covenants with the British Government—in other words, when the formal principle was adopted by England that the Briton should be “baas” of the coast and the Boer of the hinterland. The circumstances under which this took place had in the meantime become very grievous; the Boer states never had a fair start; the British maritime colonies levied enormous duties on goods consigned to the interior, and squeezed as much out of the Afrikander republic as they possibly could.

The generous policy of 1852 and 1854 was only too short-lived. The lucid moments of the Anglo-African politicians have been, alas! few and far between. First came the ruthless annexation of Basutoland by the British authorities, just at the moment when the Free State had clipped the wings of the Basutos and rendered further resistance futile. Then came the unrighteous annexation of Griqualand West, which suddenly found favor in the eyes of the British on account of the discovery of diamonds, and on which arose the Kimberley of to-day. This was followed by the annexation of the Transvaal by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, with all the bitter feeling that naturally resulted therefrom. And then the Sir Charles Warren expedition, by which the Boers were deprived of Bechuanaland, because Mr. Cecil Rhodes—whose fortunate career at the Kimberley diamond fields enable him to give the rein to his restless ambition—wanted to open up a pathway to the north, to the Rhodesia of to-day. Then came the establishment of the Chartered Company, followed by the notorious Jameson raid.

In 1897 the inquiry by the official industrial commission took place, the result being a substantial lowering of railway tariffs and import dues. But the “grievances” still remained, and increased in 1897 in sympathy with the gold output, which had now reached the large figure of eleven and a half millions. Still more “unbearable” were these “grievances” in 1898, during which year sixteen and a quarter millions of gold were dug out of Transvaal soil. This was the year of the Edgar affair and of the Outlander Petition, and in the same year forty-five gold companies of the Rand (the share capital issued being £20,294,675) paid out in dividends no less than £5,089,785—an average of 25 per cent!

The output for 1899 has already been estimated at twenty-two and a half millions, and the number of dividend-paying companies increases every month.

There are undoubted grievances in the South African Republic, but they are not the exclusive property of the Outlanders; a discreet silence is observed with respect to the wrongs of the Transvaal burghers, and I do not feel it to be my task to dilate upon them now. But still they exist, although the absorbing selfishness of the mining magnates keeps back the light of day; the lust for gold stifles all generosity, compassion, mercy, brotherly love and respect for the rights of the weak.

What Monomotapa was to the Phoenicians and Arabs, Witwatersrand is to our present gold seekers, and to most of the Outlanders—a temporary land of exile, which they only endure for the sake of the gold. Can we picture the wise King Solomon demanding the franchise for his subjects in the realms of the Queen of Sheba?

The Boers do not ask for mercy; they ask for justice. Those who keep up the unfair agitation against the South African Republic are the last men, however, to listen to the voice of righteousness or to be guided by any noble impulse; political corruption is the seed they sow, and by their unexampled opportunities they feel confident of reaping their criminal harvest. Up to the present they have gathered only tares; a still more bitter time of reaping has yet to come. In the past the Boers have been able to fight against immensely superior odds. They feel that the final victory will be theirs, for they know they have right on their side.



A FIELD DAY OF TARGET PRACTICE AMONG THE BOERS.



PRACTICING WITH A SEVEN-POUNDER IN RHODESIA.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HOME LIFE OF THE BOER.

The London Graphic recently published a pretty description of a Dutch farm in the Transvaal, which we think well worth reproducing here. The writer said:

Let me introduce you to a Dutch farmhouse in the Transvaal as I saw it one fine afternoon two or three years since. It was situated some miles from any town or village; the typical Boer does not desire near neighbors. The way to it lay over the high veldt, along vast plains, with here and there a range of hills presenting the appearance of huge pudding-molds turned upside down, only slightly more rugged of surface, but scarcely less bare. The road (by courtesy so called), led over small heaps of stones and reddish sand, varied by deep ruts and sluits, the beds of dried-up rivers, and now and then gliding gradually into the burnt-up pasture-land, over tufts of straggling, unwholesome-looking grass. There were no hedges, no fences, no walls.

Our vehicle was a kind of buggy, a hybrid between a Cape cart and an old-fashioned gig. Winding around the base of one of the big pudding-basins we came upon a little valley, in which two or three green trees of the willow species showed the presence of water, and soon afterward arrived at the house. It was a low building of stone, with a corrugated iron roof; along the front ran the stoep, which is a raised causeway or veranda, built also of stones laid one upon another, and covered with earth beaten down hard. This is the place where a Boer loves to lounge, smoking his eternal pipe and ruminating, when he is not laying down the law with regard to Roineks (Englishmen), or Outlanders generally. At the back were two little paddocks inclosed by stone walls loosely put together, and a cattle-kraal, also of stone, but partly thatched. Two mules were standing in the afternoon sun, winking their long ears in futile attempts to scare the flies, which were exploring every portion of their lean bodies. A yoke of oxen browsing at some distance completed the prominent features of the landscape, until, at the sound of wheels, a couple of dogs of the lurcher kind appeared and greeted us with furious barks. Two black boys, called

Sunday and Shilling, came to take charge of our horses and conveyance, and we were ushered in by the back entrance through the kitchen.

The distinguishing feature of the apartment, after the general squalor of the whole, was a stout cord stretched across one end, with strips of meat hanging over and tied to it; this was the greater part of a sheep, which, I afterward understood, was killed the day before. The practice is to cut it all up, without any apparent regard to joints, in various shapes and sizes, and to hang it in the air, or often in the sun, to dry; this constitutes the biltong which they use on their journeys, or in war time, and which is said to be a most nourishing and sustaining food. We passed on into the inner room, which was breakfast-room, dining-room and drawing-room combined; it was rather long and narrow, with a deal table, also narrow, and a few wooden chairs. Against one wall was a wooden box, which, with two or three cushions on it, posed as a couch. A small harmonium stood at one end, and in two corners were little cupboards or whatnots, draped with cretonne or colored print. The floor was composed of a mixture of clay and cow-dung, beaten down hard and firm. I was informed that this kind of floor was considered very good for health. I was introduced to my bedroom, leading out of the dining-room, and found it simply, but a little more comfortably, furnished, muslin curtains to the windows, but no blinds! As I stood on the stoep, later, there came to me a fairy vision of farm-houses in dear old England, with their trim, smooth lawns, vegetables and flower gardens, and I thought, oh, for a little industry and enterprise in this desert, which could be made to blossom as a rose! The soil is so fertile that it is commonly said if you throw a plant at the ground and water it, it will grow. Here all around it was little better than a wilderness; a pool lay at the bottom of the bare patch, which should have been a garden, and a few ducks stood among the reeds, or disported themselves on the water. No green fields of wheat or barley waved in the soft, sweet air. The Boer does not seem to believe in cultivation, save for a little ground roughly scratched over for patches of Indian corn, here called mealies, of which, when finely ground and sifted, they make their bread; very good it is when quite fresh, but after a day or two it becomes hard and sour.

Through all the years in which the Boers have held the Transvaal it seems never to have occurred to them that, with some labor and care they could have made this country both profitable and fair to



look upon. Water is to be found generally at a depth of thirty feet; certainly locusts and drought are formidable foes, but in Natal, where these drawbacks are also known, and the climate much hotter, a good deal of land is under cultivation. It is not that the Boer bestows much time on mental attainments or the study of books, on aesthetic culture or care of personal appearance; his only book, usually, is the Bible, his letters are never written, his toilet accessories are of the most primitive kind and those not often used. The average Boer does not undress when he retires to rest, consequently his whole attire is of the frowsiest; he is unshorn, unwashed, unbrushed. His skin, hair and clothing are all of the same hue, in close affinity with the color of the ground—thence, we may conclude, arises their favorite appellation, “sons of the soil.”

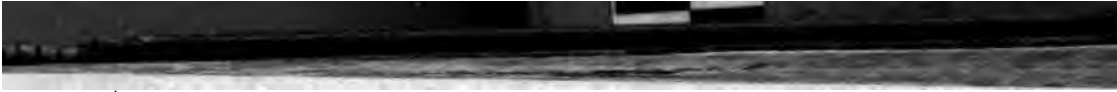
As the sun sank behind the hills and the short twilight faded into darkness, a dismal sound arose from the aforementioned pool and its neighborhood—the loud croaking of many frogs, resembling the distant lowing of cattle. Supper over I went to bed. Though wearied with my journey, sleep did not visit my eyelids; a restless feeling came over me and soon I became aware that the blanket covering me was, apparently, the camp of armies of insects of the sprightly kind, whence they issued in battalions and attacked me at every vulnerable point. Added to this misery, a heavy thunderstorm, with rain dashing against my window, came on, so I was fain to light my candle and while away the greater part of the night with a book. Morning at length came, and with it our breakfast; the strips of meat I had seen on the string in the kitchen the day before now appeared on the table, cooked, evidently, in a frying-pan. This, with Boer bread and butter, tea and coffee, furnished our frugal meal. I chose coffee, but immediately afterward fervently wished I had asked for tea; both were sufficiently bad, but Boer coffee is simply execrable; compounded of various mixtures in which ground mealies bears a large proportion, and some coffee, which is often roasted at home, this concoction is both meat and drink, and it is said to be in consequence of their drinking it so many times a day that the Boer women attain to such gigantic proportions as they frequently do in middle life, and sometimes in youth also.

Several male relatives of the household came in to breakfast and displayed very good appetites. One peculiarity of the men's clothes is that they appear to be borrowed; they never fit (I am speaking now, of

course, of the low-class Boer); there is too much ankle, often stockingless, shown, and too much wrist to agree with the modern idea of fitness. It was a brilliant morning and the sun soon dried up the excessive moisture of the previous night. Presently three members of the family offered to accompany me on a ramble. We walked some distance and came upon the ruins of another farmhouse—a few stones left one upon another, and the same utter poverty of surroundings, no trees, no trace of garden, no orchard. On returning to the house coffee was served, but I did not take any. Now came a surprise, and I ceased to wonder at my lively visitors in the still hours of the night before when I discovered that in two corners of the dining-room, under the two arrangements of shelves or whatnots, were two hens sitting on eggs. Moreover, the other hens and young chickens wandered in and out from the stoep at their own sweet will.

In this particular household it seemed the rule to begin to think of preparing dinner when everybody felt very hungry, and we did not dine before 2:30 o'clock. Later on a party of Dutch arrived, trekking in an ox-wagon from one farm to another. I noticed that they all seemed to regard me with suspicion and to examine me much as they would have done some strange animal newly imported. I, on my part, was not carried away with admiration or consuming respect for these gentlefolk, but submitted to their questioning and gave information with regard to my own doings with as good grace as I could command. They are very inquisitive; but it is pleasant to add that they are usually kind and hospitable to such strangers as can converse with them in the taal, which is Low Dutch, in the same language as that in which His Honor, the Staat-President, preaches in the little Dopper Church, near to his residence, at Pretoria. Among the people you see young girls, fresh-looking and rather pretty, but they grow terribly fat or miserably lean with increasing age. I have seen ugly old women in different parts of the world, but, beyond doubt, for utter and hopeless ugliness, the aged Dutch vrouw carries the palm! Some of these old women are more bitter against the Roineks and Roibatjies (i. e., English soldiers) than even the men, who often hate the English simply because they are English and more refined than themselves. So the evening again passed away, and early next morning I departed on my way to Johannesburg.

The London Field recently published a neat sketch of a Boer farm,



which gives a fair insight into the life led by the soldier farmers of the Transvaal. The writer said:

Hearing that the "Flatfontein" hunters had returned from their annual trip into the huntings veldt, I decided to walk over to their farm and see the young game which they had captured. To those unacquainted with South Africa I would say that the Boers hunt in winter (May to August), as it is then dry and cool. No rain falling during this season, it is consequently healthy; they get back to their farms before the wet summer season begins.

On the morning of my projected trip I rose early and, after a cup of coffee and a light repast, started off across the veldt in company with a Dutch-speaking friend. It was the South African spring. The vast plain, so lately dry and brown, was now covered with the young green grass; the trees were sending forth their leaves, and their blooms filled the air with perfume. The insect world, nurtured by the hot sun, was full of life and activity, and every here and there that intense whirring note was heard which is given forth by that insect so familiar to dwellers in this vast land, and which, although so piercing to the ear, seems to harmonize with the quivering air of the African summer day.

After a long walk we reached the top of the gradually rising plain and saw before us, in the distance, the white walls of the Boer's house, close to which ran a small stream, dignified by the name of river—a little shallow rivulet of water, seemingly engaged in the hard task of threading its way through the loose sand in the river bed, and forming here and there small pools, drinking places of the trusty trek ox.

But what are these—these brown-looking animals feeding leisurely away to our right? I look at my companion. "Quahhas," says he, and, slightly altering our course, we hold on with quickened steps to pass close by them. As we get nearer we can make out the stripes encircling their handsome forms. There are twenty of them all told, from the handsome full-grown black and white stallion to the yearling filly, with her thick, soft jacket tinged with brown. They look at us unconcernedly, moving a few paces out of our way. Roaming at large on the plains as did their forefathers before them, the halter and "reim" with which each is fettered shows that they have accepted the inevitable, and have come under the sway of the ever-encroaching human, not, however, without a sharp struggle in some far off bush veldt. As we jump the clear water at its narrowest part we note an unusual activity

by the six acres or so of cultivated ground, which is as much of a thousand or two acres which he possesses as the Boer thinks it necessary to cultivate.

This disturbance is caused by the unseemly invasion of a small army of young locusts, not long hatched, and that seem bent on devouring the small patch of succulent green stuff, the year's handiwork of the industrious Boer. Mynheer has armed himself with a long pole with a flag at the end, and, together with attendants similarly armed, is flapping the ground and diverging the stream of locusts into the hard pathway along which they clank, for all the world like a Lilliputian regiment of cavalry.

After exchanging salutations with Mynheer by raising our hats, my friend discourses with him about the locusts. Mynheer is grave; the locusts are one of the plagues sent by the Almighty. It would be useless to attempt to destroy them—nay, it would be courting further disaster to enter into competition with the All Powerful. After expressing these views and calling to the Kaffirs to flap their weapons vigorously he turns and walks with us to his house.

As we pass along we come to a shed near which are lying six young eland calves, all bulls; these are all very young animals and in poor condition. One cannot imagine their growing into the mighty animals the old wild bulls are. They have traveled from afar and keep has been scarce on the road home; however, they will soon pick up and are, I believe, already sold. A clattering of hoofs and a young Boer rides by on a black gelding. "Salted," says my friend, "and worth £60, for he has galloped down much live game." But neither his form nor his pace fills the eye, and from the English point of view he appears decidedly dear at the price.

Now we enter the abode of our host. This consists of a building of mud walls, which look red and hard; the roof is thatch; it is refreshingly cool inside, but rather embarrassing, as the room has an excessively large table and is crowded with Dutchmen, no less than seven men, and also two stout ladies. One has to struggle round the table shaking hands with each person in the most phlegmatic and insipid manner, stumbling over the legs of the others meanwhile. At length I subside into an antique chair and sit, hot and awkward, while the company present sit and stare hard at the despised "Roinek." Although I am of quite medium size at home, I feel conscious that each Boer pres-



ent—aye, and woman also—looks capable of overcoming two such as myself.

After a tedious half-hour we sally forth again, and, passing around the end of the house, come upon a small antelope calf lying resting on the ground, tethered to a small outhouse. This, our host tells us, is a "moff hartebeeste" (Anglice, Lichtenstein hartebeeste), which takes the place of the ordinary kind (Khama) in Southeast Africa. This little fellow looks well, is suckled by a cow, and our host expects to get a good price for it. Tethered out on the veldt some distance from the house are two outcasts, a pair of young spotted hyenas, commonly misnamed "wolves" by colonists. These miserables, tied to pegs driven in the ground, with short chains, have no protection from the hot sun, and lie panting, snarling and parched. At our suggestion a screen is put up for them to keep off the sun.

We now bid adieu to our host and walk on to the farm of another hunter, where we see two koodoos and three "kringhats" (water bucks), as well as some more elands and quahhas. I may mention here that these latter are a variety of the Burchell's zebra, all of which are always misnamed quah-ha by the Dutch, and quah-ka by the English. The true quagga is extinct.

On our way home again we pass close by some yearling swart vet pens (black, white belly, i. e., sable antelope). We linger to watch these animals, one of the handsomest species of the antelope tribe, and in my estimation the best flavored. I shall never forget the dinner I made off a young bull after a two months' diet of tinned meat and coarse bread; but enough! Let us return to the specimens before us. One little fellow comes up to the wire to inspect us, and as we push our hands through and stroke his horse-like quarters, lowers his head and capers around shaking his horns wickedly, reminding one that in a couple of years he will be a gentleman best kept at a distance.

These live things, survivors of a rapidly decreasing race, are only here saved from their usual fate of being slaughtered and eaten on the veldt, from the fact that the Boers have discovered that they are much more valuable alive than dead, and are eagerly sought after by dealers for sale to European zoos.

In setting out on their annual trips the Boers require, for the capture of these animals, some good horses which have had the sickness from which so few recover, and which are then termed "salted." Some

milch cows for suckling very young animals are also desirable, and generally taken. When a herd of antelopes or zebras is sighted, some sharp work follows—hard gallops, perhaps, through thorns and bush, or over rock ground, till the younger members of the herd are overtaken and run to a standstill, when they are secured with ropes or reims. After a struggle they become subdued; and I have seen young zebras caught in the morning walking loose in the evening among horses, donkeys and other zebras, and allowing one to come up and touch them. I often wonder why Englishmen in Africa did not buy up and save in their own native wilds these rare and grand animals before it became too late. They could have been bred to good profit, to say nothing of the benefit of saving them as ornaments for future generations. However, although some suppose us to be a nation of sportsmen, we have allowed this destruction to take place until all, or nearly all, are exterminated; a sorry record, indeed, of our boasted sporting instincts to be handed down to posterity.

And now a long trudge homeward. Why is it that one generally walks over these far-reaching plains in silence? Is it that the mind is dominated by this far, unending land, this land which stretches away on every side with vague sameness, and over which one always walks straight ahead so different from the ever changing rambles in the lanes of the old country?



CHAPTER X.

PRESIDENT "OOM" PAUL KRUGER AND HIS HELPMATE.

Before delving any deeper into the troubles of the Boers we must glance at the leading characters of the great struggle in South Africa.

Standing head and shoulders in importance over all other men in South Africa at the outbreak of the great war was President Paul Kruger, the Chief Magistrate of the Transvaal. A sturdy old fighter and a shrewd diplomat, he may be said to have kept his rifle in one hand throughout his life, while holding the Bible in the other, trusting to both of them in his struggles with the British.

Mr. C. Van de Watring, formerly private secretary to President Kruger's Cabinet, recently wrote the following account of the Boer President:

It has been my good fortune and privilege to know Oom Paul personally and to watch and follow him in his daily life. For three years, from 1895 to 1898, I occupied the position of private secretary to the Executive Council, or Cabinet, of the republic, and my duties placed me in intimate relations with the entire official force of the Government. Consequently what I have to say will have the virtue of accuracy and genuineness.

The many descriptions and anecdotes recently published concerning President Kruger go far toward giving a correct picture of that remarkable man. Standing full six feet and an inch in height, weighing two hundred and twenty pounds, his stooping shoulders and scraggy beard make it easy to believe that he has already passed three score years and ten and now is rounding out his seventy-fifth year.

And yet his massive frame still is that of a Hercules and his physical strength prodigious. An incident in my acquaintance with him well illustrates the propulsive force of the physical man. As is well known, he rarely sets foot outside of his own home without a stout cane with which, as he walks, he thumps vigorously upon the sidewalk with each step. A few days after the ill-starred Jameson raid and after the capture of the English invaders I was driving with the old gentleman in Pretoria. His anger at the attempted raid still was at its height, and he expressed himself in his usual vigorous fashion as we drove, empha-

sizing his well-turned periods with successive thumps of his cane upon the bottom of the carriage. His indignation finally reached a climax, and with a sudden motion of the sturdy arm the cane was raised and banged down with such force that it crashed straight through the solid bottom of the well-built vehicle.

Much has been said of the dress of the man which would give the impression that he is untidy in appearance. The contrary is nearer the truth. I never have seen him in anything but black broadcloth, of the best material, and scrupulously kept, the coat always of the Prince Albert style.

What does give to him an air of grotesqueness, however, is his trousers, which never condescended to reach his ankles, thus exposing a good part of the leg of the old-fashioned high-topped boots which the gentleman always wears.

Besides the ever-accompanying cane, Oom Paul always is seen with his much-beloved pipe. So indefatigable is he in the use of it that it goes with him, in full operation, even to the sittings of the Volksraad. At these sittings he occupies a chair by the side of the presiding officer, a huge cuspidor at his elbow. The smoke curls from the pipe when the owner is not delivering himself of one of his forcible lectures. As he warms up to his work, however, he invariably emphasizes his remarks and directs his words to this or that offending legislation by seizing the pipe by the bowl and wielding the stem as a baton.

Intoxicating liquors he never touches, nor do the Boers generally. But both he and they are inveterate drinkers of coffee. Nor has he an exalted notion of those who do indulge in alcoholic stimulants.

On the eve of the Jameson raid, which was hourly expected to develop, I was dispatched to the Kruger mansion after midnight to announce to the President the report that the raiders were en route for Pretoria. I was permitted to stand outside the door of his sleeping room and deliver my message. The gruff query came back: "Well, haven't they rum with them?" I replied that it was more than likely, whereupon the interview was cut short with the growl from within: "Go back to bed; they will not disturb us while their rum lasts."

Gruff as Mr. Kruger is in demeanor, his heart is a kindly one and his love of jesting is proverbial. My first interview with him was for the purpose of soliciting the appointment which I afterward obtained.



He listened to my own story of myself, paying little heed to my credentials and references, and at length blurted out: "Well, man, come now, are you a good man or a rascal?"

His gray eyes lighted up after my rather disturbed reply that I was not conscious of being a rascal, and then, with a burst of laughter, his tobacco pouch was handed to me. From that moment I felt that I had his confidence.

Naturally, though, his one great horror is Great Britain. Upon coming to his office one morning he found upon his table, with his mail, an English almanac, possibly sent to him by an enemy or a wag. With the snort of an enraged bull he tore it to tatters and threw it from the window with as much satisfaction as if it had been the form of Cecil Rhodes.

He speaks neither English nor French, the Dutch language being the only one with which he is conversant, though it is suspected that he has more knowledge of English than he cares to admit. That he is beloved by his people goes without saying. He is in all things the highest type of the Boer race. His whole life has been devoted to his people, and no scandal has ever stained his name.

In Joubert and Cronje he has two able subordinates in the field of arms. The two men differ in this, however, that Joubert is not beloved, and perhaps not entirely trusted, while Cronje holds the affection and confidence of all. So completely did he impress his generosity and gallantry upon the Jameson followers, that when, as prisoners, they were being led from Hengersdorp to Pretoria, Cronje was greeted with the heartiest of English cheers as he passed them on the road, a well-deserved tribute to the victor for his humanity toward the vanquished.

He speaks ill-advisedly who speaks now of an easy British victory in the present struggle. Even the engagements already fought are quite likely to assume a different aspect when the facts are gleaned from other than British sources. As a fact, the British have not yet come into actual contact with a real Boer army. The genuine Boer, under Joubert and Cronje, is yet to be heard from. When heard from he will be found upon the defensive upon his own soil, or, if attacking, doing so only when success is assured. The conflict, too, upon Boer soil, will have some bitter surprises for the British. As a bushwhacker the Boer is well-nigh invincible, and bushwhacking will be forced upon the

invaders. The spirit and bravery of the Boer, too, are of the highest type, while his contempt for the British is deep-seated.

Shortly after the Jameson raid I heard two sturdy burghers at Pretoria discussing the English flag. One of them maintained that it was a white flag, while the other declared that it was red, white and blue. To settle the controversy the former finally protested: "Well, I know; for I have been in three wars with the English and have seen the white flag flying over them in every battle!"

President Kruger has been described in this country as a queer, shaggy-headed old man, with his face like a coarsened composite picture of Horace Greeley and Peter Cooper; his frowsy, ill-fitting suit of clerical black; his ancient high hat and his cotton umbrella—the very type of a stage colporter—that is the man who with perhaps 60,000 lumbering half-farmers at his back is defying the mailed Colossus of the world to trial by combat.

"I will be at the head of an army of Boers some day," he has said again and again in his youth, "which will sweep those English into the sea."

With his octogenarian decade close at hand there was scant time in which to make good his words, and to Oom Paul's masterful, half-fanatical mind his words spoken were as dispensations.

Those who have seen this strange figure which is now overwhelming the world with its rugged heroism say that he has aged a good deal within the past ten years. At sixty-four his colossal form was as full of resistless vigor as it was in the very prime of manhood. But at seventy-four his shoulders are stooped, his face is flabbier and there is age in his tread. But the fire of youth still burns in his eye and his words when he is aroused come with their old swift impetuosity. In his conferences with English emissaries he always speaks in his own tongue. He does not quite admit the weakness of loathing the language. He says by speaking in Dutch and through interpreters he has better opportunity to weigh his thoughts and the words in which he will either clothe or conceal them.

With the young burghers of the Transvaal the stories of Oom Paul's feats of strength and courage in his earlier days are related as were the exploits of the gods of ancient Greece. As a runner nobody could equal him. On one occasion he ran a foot race with the pick of Kaffir chiefs. The course was an all-day's run, passing many well-known



landmarks, among others his father's house. Paul was so far ahead of his competitors that he went in and had dinner and took a light rifle with him when he set out again. Soon he encountered a lion in his path. He tried to shoot and his gun missed fire. Man and savage beast were face to face, glaring into each other's eyes. The calm courage of the man's gaze won. The lion skulked away. Paul went on and won the race.

With his rifle he was an unerring shot. Riding a horse at full gallop, he turned in his saddle and shot a pursuing buffalo fair between the horns. His bodily strength was prodigious. He once seized a buffalo that was standing in a stream by the horns and by sheer strength of muscle twisted his neck until his head was under water and the brute was drowned.

These and a thousand other tales of prowess are among the folklore of the Transvaal. He had no chance for schooling. His father was too poor to buy him shoes even, let alone books, and yet he has baffled the wisest men's learning with his sagacity. His intuitive knowledge of human motives is marvelous. Once in Johannesburg there was an elected school board which was becoming daily more powerful. The members were mostly English, among them a Mr. Holt, of ultra-English views. The board was the only hope of the English element for securing control of Johannesburg. In November, 1894, President Kruger issued an edict that only the Boer language should be used at the meetings of the school board, and only those who could speak that language should be qualified for membership. The English fumed and protested; but it was either submit or resign. They resigned.

When the Jameson raid was met and crushed in a manner which left no doubt that Oom Paul had had secret knowledge in advance of the movement, it was firmly believed for a time that there had been a traitor in the camp. That was not true. Oom Paul had the information, but he did not get it from a traitor. He got it by one of the little devices which are peculiar to him. Suspecting something was in the wind, he enlisted all the pretty barmaids in Johannesburg in his service—made them a wing of his detective bureau. Through them he learned that new men were being enlisted at the Cape and that new guns were being shipped week after week from England. The Englishmen babbled all their secrets over their cups, in a word, and straight they went to Oom Paul's ears.

no one has come out from that hospitable mansion hungry. She is her own chef. And she is her own butler. Yes, Tanta Kruger, the wife of the man whose salary is \$35,000 a year, and who recently presented the Pope with a \$4,000,000 diamond.

On the occasion when she has guests she wears her very best Sunday-go-to-meeting black gown. She puts it on just before she announces "Dinner is served." This is done at the last moment, because before that she has been adding pinches of salt to the stew, and the last dustings of pepper to the soup. Then one of her daughters remains in the kitchen, while the first lady of the Transvaal, just as the scorching African sun is going to rest, takes a second to wash off and put on her single holiday gown.

When she appears in time for dinner her face is shining with its recent scrubbing. And over her best Sunday-go-to-meeting gown she has a large clean white apron.

She is prepared to do honor to her position—as butler.

The income of \$25,000,000 and to do one's own cooking!

To fuss and fume and fret and stew over a boiling stove in a hot, hot land rather than spend the money on a maid! And not only to cook, for it is whispered—and loudly in tourist and English circles in Africa—that she very often takes a hand in the washing and that she scrubs and rolls the clothes with the skill and strength of the best of them.

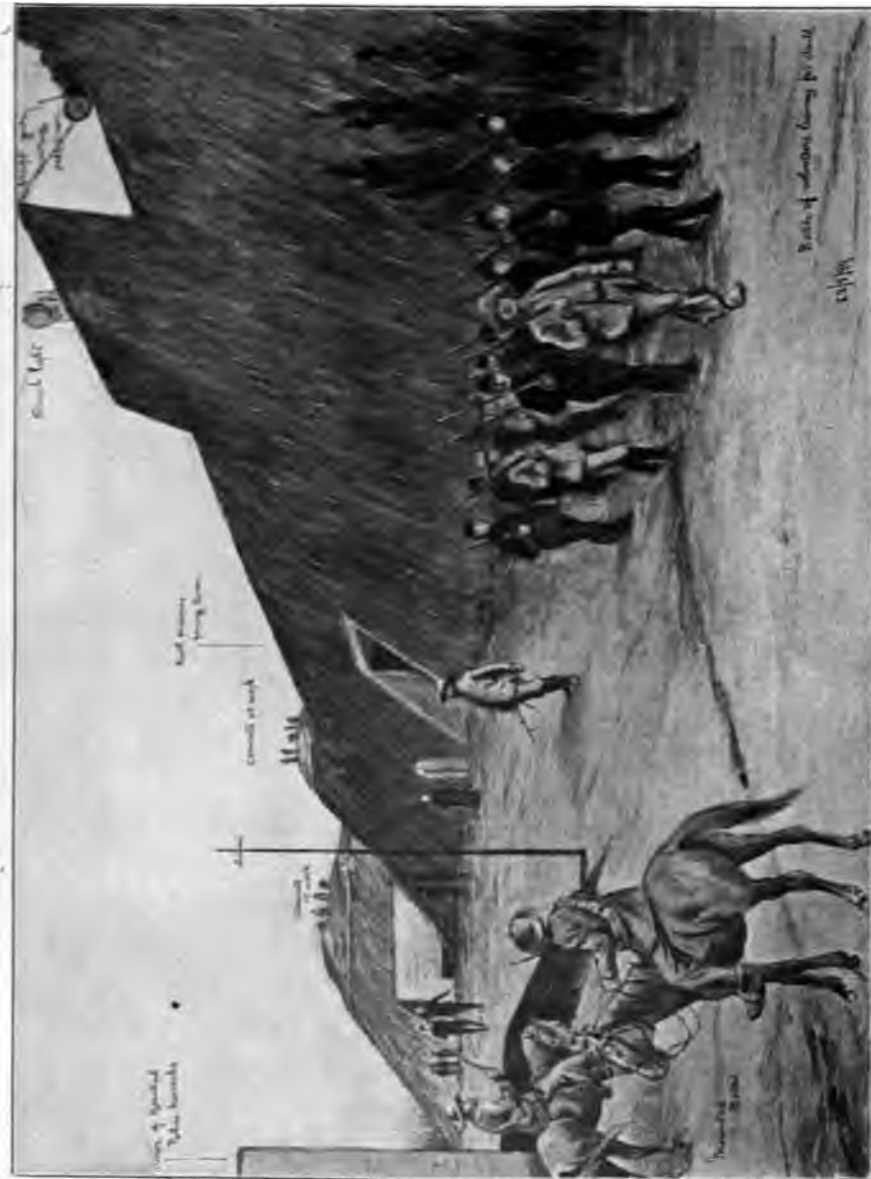
She also insists upon making her own beds. This may be because "the Kruger" needs an untroubled pillow, a sheet without a wrinkle to ease him from the arduous duties of scheming to make empires and millions, but if she does the rest of the hard work it is probable she makes the bed also to save the penny—or whatever the money is in that land.

When her husband has state guests to dinner, this is, indeed, the time the good lady shines; here she shows the stuff of which she is made, and does honor to her millions and her position as wife of the President.

Not at the foot or at the head of the table, but in passing the dishes. To no butler will she ever trust so great a responsibility. There might be a slip, a mishap, that she couldn't guard against. So, shining and splendid, with large white apron over her capacious form, she waits on each guest.



MAXIM-NORDENFELDT QUICK-FIRING GUN FOR THE CAPE.



BOER MILITARY PRECAUTIONS AT JOHANNESBURG.

"Surely," she argues, "no hostess can take care of a guest better than this."

Every plate is then heaped to perfection, each glass kept well filled to the brim, no slightest wish from any one goes unnoticed.

If any one is rash enough to extol to Tanta, or "Auntie," Kruger, as everyone calls her, the glories of her wealth, and the immense amount of monthly pocket money she has to control, she will tell that person a secret, one of which she is proud, one in which she glories.

It is this: "That she and the President have never lived beyond their 'coffee money.'"

She is Mr. Kruger's second wife—his first lived but nine months after marriage—and has borne him sixteen children, eleven of whom are living, including five daughters.

There is now quite a large clan of President Kruger's descendants. Mr. and Mrs. Kruger live in a small, unpretentious house used as the Presidency, standing in one of the streets of Pretoria. They are still very early risers. It is said Oom Paul is never in bed after five o'clock. Before six divine service is held, the whole household being present, and the President conducting. Then the morning coffee is served, frequently on the stoep or veranda, for the morning sun at Pretoria is hotter than at home, and cloudy days are less common.

If the Volksraad is in session the President is in his office by half-past seven, and has usually dispatched considerable business before the Raad opens at nine o'clock.

If the Raad is not sitting he breakfasts at home and then drives to his office by 8:30. He is home again about four or five in the afternoon, and goes on receiving visitors, or sits smoking in the bosom of his numerous family until about nine. Then he and his good wife and everybody else retire.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE

Next in importance to President Kruger, at the outbreak of the war between Great Britain and the Transvaal, was President Marthinus Theunis Steyn, of the Orange Free State, a shrewd, rough and ready man of the stamp of President Kruger and born in the same town, Winberg, sixty miles from Bloemfontein, as the fighting President of the Transvaal.

President Steyn was born October 2, 1857, when the Orange Free State was just three years old. His father was a wagon-maker and a farmer. His grandfather, on his mother's side, was one of the Boer leaders during the "great trek" of 1834. His name was Wessels. Steyn's mother was a typical Boer woman, sturdy, self-reliant. During one of the uprisings of the natives, and before the Orange Free State had become a definite political entity, the British government forbade the importation of gunpowder into that region. Powder was a highly important article to the Boer farmer, who was likely to be face to face, at almost any time during his wanderings with hungry lions and none too peaceable natives. Wessels, therefore, was not disposed to regard the dictation of the British, and during one of his treks, which brought him to Colesburg, he took good care to lay in a supply of powder. When the sixteen yoke of oxen were "out-spanned"—that is, put out to feed—that night and the party were well away from Colesburg, Mrs. Wessels noticed a party of Cape police riding toward their camp. She surmised that they had been informed of the purchase of powder, and knew that they would certainly appropriate it if they could find it. Her husband was away from the camp at the moment and the responsibility rested entirely upon her. It didn't take her long to decide what to do. Before the police had approached near enough to see distinctly what she was doing she removed the bags of powder from the wagon and arranged them in a pile very close to the camp fire. Then she calmly sat down on the bags, arranging her ample skirts so that the powder was completely concealed. By the time the police had reached the camp she was industriously poking up the fire. The police searched the wagon carefully and beat the brush in the vicinity of the camp, but



they couldn't find a trace of the powder, and, of course, the good woman knew nothing about it. Finally, the men gave up the search and rode away, baffled by quick wits and generous skirts.

Mrs. Wessels had a way of saying to her sons: "You are free men, see to it that you remain free." It was from such timber as this that the President of the Orange Free State sprung. As a lad and a young man he was an all-around athlete, a good foot-ball player and boxer, a skillful rider and a fine shot. He killed his first springbok when but eleven years old and was an accomplished and fearless hunter of lions and elephants before he had got his full physical growth. He was more than six feet tall and big in proportion.

Poultney Bigelow gives this description of the Free State's President:

The whole expression of his face is eminently that of harmony and strength. His nose is a strong one, but not, as in President Kruger's case, an exaggerated feature of the face. Both Presidents have the large ears characteristic of strong men, and both are broad between the cheek bones. The full beard of President Steyn gives him so great an aspect of dignity that I was much surprised at learning he was not yet forty years old. His ample forehead adds to his dignity and he has also, from much poring over books, allowed one or two folds of his skin to droop upon his upper eyelids.

President Steyn got his education at the Gray College, in Bloemfontein, where he used both English and Dutch text-books. When he was nineteen he was sent to Europe to study law, and he passed the ensuing six years in Holland and England.

Upon his return to his native country he immediately began practice. He was elected attorney general very soon afterward and became a judge when only thirty-two years of age. It was in 1896, immediately after the Jameson raid, that he became candidate for President of the Free State, and it was said that Dr. Jim's exploit was a great help to Steyn's candidacy, his opponent being a man having the British name of Fraser, and whom he defeated by a majority of six to one. Some idea of his conception of the importance of his office is shown in the following extracts from his inaugural address:

"Here in the Free State, where we have raised the banner of republicanism, and will continue to uphold that banner, sustained by true republican principles, where from all quarters strangers are coming to

us, is it not a glorious task to incorporate these strangers with us, and amalgamate them in one republican people? * * * * Shall we, as sensible men, allow a wretched freebooter (Jameson) to put race hatred into our hearts? Or shall we allow him to take us a hair's breadth out of the path our fathers have pointed out to us and followed, which leads to peace, friendship and fraternity? * * * * Here we have the Free State, situated in the heart of South Africa, surrounded by states and colonies. Is it not our duty to evoke from them a spirit of union and lay the foundation of a unity for which every right-thinking Afrikaner yearns?"



CHAPTER XII.

CECIL RHODES, DR. JAMESON AND BARNEY BARNATO.

While there are many interesting personages on the Boer side of the South African tug-of-war, there are a few on the British side who must be mentioned, namely, Cecil Rhodes, formerly Premier of Cape Colony, resident director of the British South Africa Company and so-called "Napoleon of South Africa"; Dr. "Jim" Jameson, his lieutenant, and the late Barney Barnato. The latter, it may be said, is hardly worth a chapter here; but, on the other hand, he was the most picturesque figure of his class at one time, and can hardly be left out of the gallery of celebrities if we aim to present a complete picture of South Africa.

The Right Hon. Cecil Rhodes is a younger son of the late Rev. F. W. Rhodes, rector of Bishop Stortford, England. He took his degree at Oxford and went to South Africa, like many other younger sons, to court Dame Fortune. He did so most successfully. During his early days in Cape Colony, however, Rhodes had a hard struggle to get on his feet, but, he staggered up, slowly but surely, and became one of the world's magnates of finance.

When the De Beers diamond mines were far from prosperous Rhodes was prominent in the efforts made to gather such interests together, and he succeeded in so doing and in establishing a long list of valuable securities, generally known as "Kaffirs." He then turned his attention to Cape politics. He was elected to the Assembly from West Barkly, and for a time held a position in the Scanlon Ministry. On the fall of the Spriggs Ministry Rhodes became Premier of Cape Colony. This was in 1890. He held office until 1896, when, as a result of the Jameson raid into the Transvaal, he resigned, but did not cease to work heart and soul for the accomplishment of the great dream of his life, the establishment of a vast British Dominion in South Africa, with a British railroad "from the Cape to Cairo," and to include under the British flag everything includable.

Mr. Rhodes has advanced considerably toward the accomplishment of his self-imposed task. He was the prime mover in obtaining mining rights in Matabeleland and Mashonaland, and, as a result of his enterprise, immense tracks of British territory in South Africa are now

grouped under the name of Rhodesia. Until 1896 Mr. Rhodes was resident director in South Africa of the British South Africa Company, an organization somewhat similar to the famous East India Company which built up the British Indian Empire.

In this country Mr. Rhodes would be looked upon as an unscrupulous capitalistic hustler of the most aggressive nature. He is a man to dare and do almost anything in the accomplishment of his ends.

When the trouble between the British and Chief Lobengula of Matabeleland began in 1893 Rhodes went to Fort Salisbury, from which place he directed the operations of the company's armed forces against the Matabeles, which resulted, eventually, in the utter defeat of Lobengula and the conversion in five years of the chief's capital, Buluwayo, then (in 1893) consisting of one trader's shanty and a collection of native huts, into a prosperous city with hotels, a theater, clubs, well-kept streets, horse car lines, water works and an electric light plant, with a railroad leading to and from the centers of British civilization in South Africa.

The policy of Mr. Rhodes at that time met with the most enthusiastic approval at the Cape, and he was, in consequence, banquetted at Cape Town in January, 1894. In a speech of thanks upon that occasion Mr. Rhodes, in defending his policy, outlined the United Africa which he then hoped to see in the near future, covering all the country south of Zambesi, "one in the question of tariffs, of railway communication, of law and of coinage, although possessing full local government in local matters."

This very ambitious man was sworn in as a Privy Councillor of Her Majesty Queen Victoria in February, 1895.

After resigning office at the Cape, Mr. Rhodes visited England in 1896, and, after a long interview with the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, he suddenly returned to South Africa and devoted himself to the development of Buluwayo and Rhodesia generally. He also took an active part in suppressing a revolt of the Matabeles, who, for a time, closely besieged Buluwayo, and in arranging the terms of peace, although he gave up his managing directorship of the British South Africa Company. Mr. Rhodes again visited England in 1897 and gave evidence before the South Africa committee appointed by the British Parliament to investigate, or partly whitewash, the Jameson raid, after which he again returned to the Cape



and took up his work in Rhodesia, also resuming his place on the board of directors of the British South Africa Company. In 1898 he re-entered the political arena, being elected to the Cape Assembly by two constituencies.

The stories told of Mr. Rhodes, his sayings and doings, are innumerable. For instance, it is said, that some sixteen years ago an acquaintance of his, then a man of small means and little influence, watched him examining a map of Africa and asked him if he was trying to locate the town of Kimberley. The "Napoleon of South Africa" is said to have made no reply for a few moments and then to have placed his hand over the map, covering a large part of South and Central Africa, from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans.

"All that British," Mr. Rhodes is alleged to have remarked. "That is my dream."

The friend is said to have replied:

"I will give you ten years to realize it."

"Give me ten more," the man of great ambitions is said to have retorted, "and then we'll have a new map."

There remained, at the outbreak of the war, only two small spaces on the part of the map covered by Mr. Rhodes' hand which were not British and those were the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

"You don't steal diamonds," Barney Barnato is reported to have said to Mr. Rhodes fifteen years ago, "but you must prove it when accused. I steal them, but my enemies must prove it. That's the difference between us."

No, Mr. Rhodes did not steal diamonds, but he is very strongly suspected of attempting to steal two republics.

There is this great difference between the two South African magnates: One would steal a diamond, the other would steal a nation, or several of them, for the honor and glory of the British flag, and, incidentally, for the very great benefit of the British South Africa Company.

This remarkable man is said to be a firm believer in the saying that "every man has his price," and he is credited with using money when other forces have failed to accomplish his ends.

Groote Schuur, the home of Mr. Rhodes near Cape Town, is a luxurious country palace with a large zoological garden, to which the public is admitted, attached to it. Some time after the Jameson

raid, which Mr. Rhodes is charged with having instigated, the main building was burned to the ground, and it was said that this was the work of incendiaries who were desirous of obtaining possession of the private papers of Mr. Rhodes. Whether this is true or not, one thing is certain, Mr. Rhodes saved his papers and laughed scornfully when asked if the fire was the work of his enemies.

Personally, though a hustler in every sense of the word, Mr. Rhodes poses as an indolent man, and says that a man who does more work than his physical needs require is a fool. He walks as little as possible, and his only exercise consists of an hour's canter on horseback in the early morning. He is a very generous man, spending money freely everywhere, and standing firmly by his friends. But he has a peculiarity frequently noticed in very rich men, he rarely has enough money in his pocket to provide for his immediate wants. He is a man of very few words and great decision of character, wears shabby clothes while in Rhodesia, and, if necessary, camps out like a pioneer.

Mr. Rhodes is not married, and is reputed to be a woman hater.

Finally, Mr. Rhodes is quoted as saying:

"No man should ever leave money to his children. It is a curse to them. What we should do for our children, if we would do them the best service we can, is to give them the best training we can procure for them, and then turn them loose in the world without a sixpence to fend for themselves. What happens when you leave children fortunes? They have no longer any spur to effort. They spend their money on wine, women and gambling, and bring disgrace upon the name which they bear. No; give your boys the best education you can, and then let them make their own way. As for any money you may have, it should all go to the public service—to the state in some form or another. They tell me," he is said to have added, laughing, "that that is state socialism. I cannot help that. These are my ideas, and they are right."

Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, popularly known as "Dr. Jim," was, previous to the raid, administrator of the British South Africa Company in Mashonaland, and a faithful lieutenant of Mr. Cecil Rhodes. Jameson may be said to have developed under Rhodes' influence into an amiable freebooter or land pirate of the jingo species. He attempted to seize for his friends, under the shadow of the British flag,



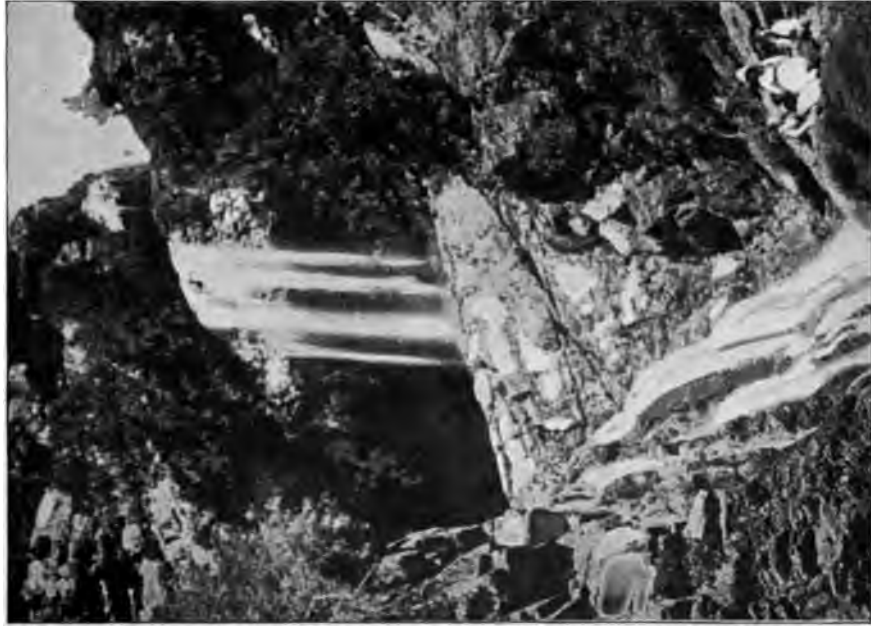
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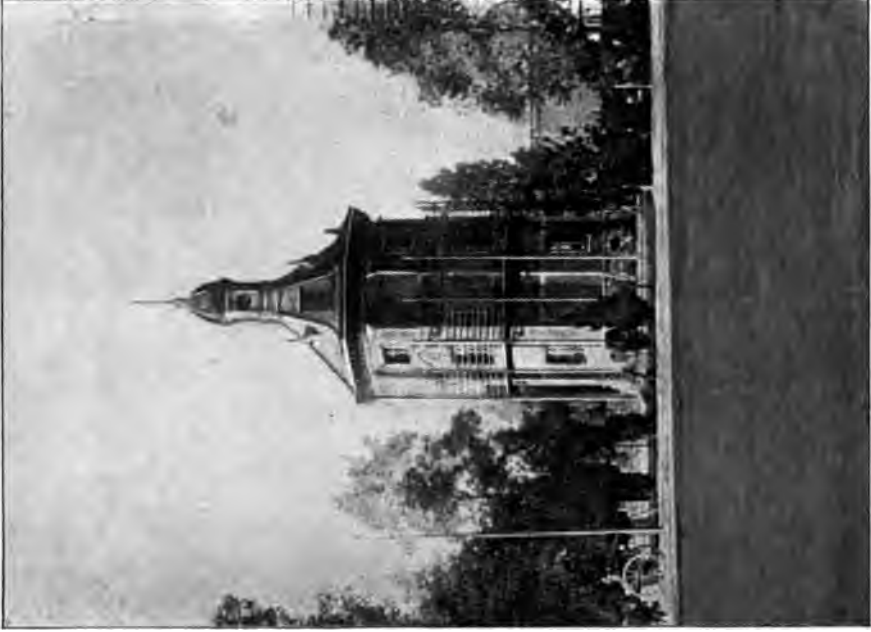
A TYPICAL WEALTHY BOER.



A TYPICAL BOER WIFE.



KRUGER'S WATERFALL, NEAR JOHANNESBURG.



TELEPHONE TOWER AT JOHANNESBURG.



MAJUBA HILL.

the Great Transvaal gold center of Johannesburg, was beaten ignominiously and captured by the Boers, who were with difficulty persuaded to abstain from hanging him, and was eventually returned to England and sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment "for violating the Enlistment Act." He was pardoned on the plea of ill-health, after serving seven months in a comfortable London prison.

Nothing that Dr. Jameson would attempt in the way of daring adventure, or accomplish through his impetuous but thoughtful audacity, would astonish those who have closely followed his career.

Of all the men who have gained fame in Africa none is more picturesque than "Dr. Jim." He was born and bred in Scotland, of an ancient Scottish family. His father was writer for the Signet. But those who knew Dr. Jameson in his youth tell strange stories of his dash, cleverness and adventures. He was educated as a physician. He had had an admittedly distinguished medical career, and had taken honors in arts when he sailed away to South Africa, settling in Kimberley. He speedily gained a large practice and a commensurate income. He was the leader in his profession. His fame as a medical man alone was very great.

Cecil Rhodes soon saw the stuff of which Dr. Jameson was made and offered him the opportunity of playing a part in the opening of a new country. He embraced it gladly. At that time, the fat, luxurious and cunning Lobengula, Chief of the Matabele nation, was bitterly opposed granting concession to the British South Africa Company, and its budding operations in that direction were in danger of destruction. The first emissary sent to him, a man named Thompson, saw Lobengula kill a chief for advising the concession. The British emissary was glad to escape with his life.

Dr. Jameson, alone and unarmed, then started for Lobengula's court. Few dared hope that he would return. None dared dream that he could succeed. But "Dr. Jim" boldly sought the craftiest of South African chiefs, or kings, who ruled 100,000 Zulu warriors.

The fame of Dr. Jameson's medical skill stood him in good stead in his journey to the king, but menaced him with additional danger after he arrived there, for the king was suffering from a malady which his medicine man could not check, and which threatened to kill him at any moment. If Dr. Jameson failed to cure he knew he would be killed. But science conquered, and Lobengula granted the concession and

permission for the pioneer force to pass through Mashonaland.

Dr. Jameson next explored and established a new route to the ocean, difficult enough, and which gained him supreme command of the South Africa Company in Mashonaland. But it was not to be compared with his journey to the great Chief Gungunyana through the worst country in South Africa. This was a two months' journey, practically on foot, through a marshy country, with compass alone to guide. At the start all provisions were lost. Dr. Jameson pushed on. He and his small band lived on fruits. It rained for eleven days. Fourteen days were passed in the gloom of a dense African jungle. During the whole journey the only game that was seen was a skunk. The three white men were stricken with fever, yet they pushed on and accomplished the mission.

From that time the daring doctor controlled Mashonaland, and he rose superior to every crisis. He had much trouble with King Lobengula, and he warred against the savage warriors in 1893, with remarkable success. Hostile natives attacked the Mashonas. Dr. Jameson gave them a warning. He was told that Lobengula could not control his young men.

"Take back those whom you can control and I will deal with the others," was Dr. Jameson's message.

He ordered an invasion of Matabeleland and it resulted in the downfall of the great chief.

Among the personages who attracted the attention of the world while the Johannesburg wires were being pulled some five or six years ago by British and Boers in South Africa, was Barney Barnato, the millionaire mine-speculator, who subsequently committed suicide by jumping overboard from the steamer *Scot* while on his way from Cape Town to London. He was a fair representative of the successful speculator in diamonds and "Kaffirs," or South African securities, and the list of his eccentricities was as long as the record of his strange doings and sayings. There have been many versions of the "story of Barney Barnato" published, and none of them agrees with any other in anything but the main facts. Report had it at one time that he was originally a clown with Barnum's circus, which has been denied by his family, while another version of his early life was that he earned his first capital by exhibiting a trained donkey through South Africa, which, we believe, is practically admitted to be true.



In any case, for two years the effect of his name in London was magical. Everything that he touched became profitable and English investors went crazy over Barnato stocks. Much was known about his financial operations, but very little definite information could be obtained about the man's history. Barnato's millions were not myths if the stories about him were, and he seldom took the trouble to deny the latter.

What purports to be practically an authorized biography of Barnato was published some years ago under the title "B. I. Barnato; A Memoir." Harry Raymond, the author of it, was a reporter on a South African newspaper during the years when Barnato was fighting his way to great wealth, and knew him intimately. Mr. Raymond told his story in a simple, straightforward fashion, without attempting to portray Barnato other than as a shrewd financier with a ready wit and the money-getting instinct.

It was in 1871, when there were gathered in the diamond fields in a series of camps some 4,000 white men and four times that number of Kaffirs, that a young Hebrew named Henry Isaacs made his appearance in Kimberley, and, assuming the name of Barnato, began to give public entertainments for the miners. Harry Barnato did not take long to discover that he could make more money in diamonds than on the stage, and at the end of a year he sent home for his brother, Barnett Isaacs, to come out and help him gather profits. Barnett Isaacs also assumed the name of Barnato, and it was his genius which guided the new firm to success. They were the sons of a pious Hebrew in London named Isaac Isaacs, and the grandsons of a rabbi of some reputation. When Barney Barnato became famous and one of his friends chided him on the amusement that he derived from the absurd stories told about him, he replied:

"Well, why shouldn't I? A man who doesn't care twopence about me comes with a yarn and asks me if it is true. I say, 'Oh, I suppose so; go and ask So-and-so—he will tell you what really occurred.' Now, if I was to say there was not a word of truth in the whole story I should not be believed. I have had hundreds of men come to me for details of my career. If I told them the truth they wouldn't believe me; if I didn't tell 'em anything at all they would go off angry and try to write nasty things. So I let them talk, find out what they want to hear and then tell it to them; and they believe it all and go away and

say what is, perhaps, the only absolutely true thing they will say, that I am not a bit ashamed of my origin and never put on style. If you do not like it, tell me what else I can do better."

According to this biographer Barnato was an amateur actor of great repute in South Africa, and his favorite characters were Bob Brierly in "The Ticket-of-Leave Man" and Matthias in "The Bells."

As an illustration of Barnato's business methods, this incident is related:

"On one occasion, after being very little in the office for some twelve days, he suddenly entered and asked what the balance at the bank was and what business had been done. When told he sat down and made some brief calculations.

"'No, that is not right,' he said. 'Have you gone through the books?'

"'Yes; I have checked everything this week. All is in order.'

"'Well, you are wrong, I tell you. You are about £4,000 out. You had better find out where it is.'

"The books were re-examined, every detail of the business of the firm was closely scrutinized, and in the end—after six weeks' continuous work—it was found that an employe had misappropriated a single parcel of shares of a little over £4,000 in value, consisting of 100 Kimberley Centrals at £41, and had very cleverly falsified the entries. Barnato had no knowledge of the misdeed and never dreamed of suspecting the individual; but he happened to want to know the exact position of affairs, and he could at any time roughly balance the whole of his vast business to within a few pounds. I never heard him enunciate the time-honored maxim 'Look after the pence, the pounds will take care of themselves'—he generally preferred to clothe his thoughts in his own terse phrases—but it was never better exemplified than in his conduct of business."

Barnato's philosophy was of the get-there kind, and Mr. Raymond quotes him as saying:

"If you are going to fight, always get in the first blow. If a man is going to hit you, hit him first and say, 'If you try that, I'll hit you again.' It is of no use your standing off and saying, 'If you hit me I'll hit you back. D'ye understand?'

"'Yes, I understand,' I answered; 'but you are quoting Kingsley in "Westward Ho!"'

"‘Who was Kingsley and “Westward Ho?”’ he sharply queried.

"After I had explained and quoted the passage from Drake’s letter to Amyas Leigh, he said:

"‘Ah, I did not know anything of Kingsley, but when he wrote that he knew what life was and he was right and I am right, though it is queer for me to get a supporter in one of your parsons. If he was a true man he would also have to agree with our law of “an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,” but, being a Christian, of course he couldn’t do that. Pah! never let a man wrong you without getting square, no matter how long you wait; and never wrong a man if you can help it, because he will wait his time to get back on you, and at the worst possible moment. I don’t care whether it is Jew or Gentile, it is all the same.’”

Barnato was a member of the Cape Town Assembly and he was delighted in mildly scandalizing the members of Parliament. During a debate, in 1893, on the Cape Liquor Law, which prohibited the sale of intoxicating drinks on Sunday, except as an accompaniment of a substantial meal—a local Raines Law—Barnato said:

"A few Sundays ago I walked some distance from Cape Town, for, being busily engaged in mentally reviewing the course of business of the Honorable House, I went on much further than I had intended without noticing the time. I at length retraced my steps, and, being then both hot and thirsty, went into a decent and most respectable hotel for refreshment. I only wanted to quench my thirst, but, according to law, a drink would only be supplied as the accompaniment of a bona fide substantial meal. Mine host set before me a bottle of beer and a leg of roast pork. He had no other eatables. What was I to do? If I ate the pork I broke the Law of Moses. If I drank the beer without eating, I broke the law of the land. Between the chief rabbi and the chief justice I stood in a very awkward position."

Barnato had no sympathy to waste on the brokendown adventurers who came to South Africa to live by borrowing. When he became known as a very wealthy man he was frequently bothered by requests for small loans.

"At Johannesburg, some years ago," says his biographer, "a well-known individual of a type rather common there borrowed £10 from Barnato, and, although asked for the money several times, always put off payment. One day Barnato said, openly, to some friends: ‘Mind,

none of you ever lend F. D—— any money. He has £10 of mine, and it is time he was stopped.'

"The man heard of this, and, coming up to him said: 'I hear you have been talking about me.'

" 'Yes, I want my money.'

" 'Well, here is your £10, and don't talk about me any more.'

"A short time afterward the same man asked Barnato for the loan of £25, as he was hard up.

" 'No; can't do it,' was the reply.

" 'Why not? I do not owe you anything.'

" 'I know you don't; but you've disappointed me once. You paid me back £10 I never expected to get, and I won't risk another disappointment.' "

Barnato's education was very elementary and he almost never read books or newspapers. He did read Kipling's "Story of the Gadsbys" on one of his trips from England to Cape Town. His nerves were badly shattered and when he found that he could not sleep Mr. Raymond gave him Kipling's story. "I did not see him again until the second morning after, and then asked how he liked the book.

" 'I like it very much; it is very good, very clever. I did not begin it until yesterday morning, and then wondered what you had given me. The first chapter is all about girls and darning stockings. But, do you know, I put it in my pocket when I went down to the office, and, looking at it again, I sat there till I had finished it. I did what I do not ever remember to have done before, and clean forgot a board meeting. C—— reminded me of the meeting, but I sat to finish.'

" 'If it made you forget yourself for a while you had better try the same prescription again.'

" 'No, it takes too much time. The "Herriott Woman" played her cards badly, but she had no chance.'

"We discussed the loves of Captain Gadsby until breakfast time. I repeatedly tried to induce him to make another incursion into light literature, but without success. He had no time for it, he said. The last occasion on which I saw him was about a fortnight before he left England, in November, 1896, for the trip to South Africa, from which he was not to return alive. He said:

" 'I'll get the book of Kipling's you lent me in Johannesburg. I think it will do me good to read it again.' "

One of Barnato's early partners in Kimberley was Louis Cohn. They rented a little corrugated iron shanty, and there they bought diamonds and lived. Mr. Cohn tells a new story to illustrate Barnato's shrewdness. He says:

"There was one man then, a diamond buyer in a comparatively large way, whose business we both envied. He seemed to have a regular and large connection, and made constant rounds, riding an old yellow, rather lame pony. We tried to follow him several times to see which way he went, and who, among the wilderness of tents, huts and debris heaps, he called on, but without avail.

"One day Barnato said to me, 'That chap —— has a rare good connection; we must get hold of a bit of it somehow.'

" 'All right; we want it bad enough.'

"At that time we were very hard up indeed, and prospects were poor. A few days later Barnato came to me in great glee.

" 'I know what we have to do to get ——'s customers. I've seen him come home three days running.'

" 'If you had seen him go out and followed him up it would be more to the purpose, I should think,' I answered, rather sharply perhaps, for I thought he was fooling.

" 'Have patience, Lou, and I'll tell you if you give me a chance. Look here, I've seen him come back from his rounds three days running, and he always stops first at Hall's canteen. Mind this, however; he does not guide the pony to that place, but just sits still all the while with loose rein and the pony stops of his own accord. Now, it is my firm conviction that all day long he rides just the same way, and that the pony knows all the stopping places. I've known this for some days, but it didn't help so long as he had the pony; to-day he has seen some other beast he likes better, and wants to sell his whole present outfit.'

"I agreed. We bought that old, worn-out yellow pony and its bridle for £27 10s., and with it the man's whole connection, for the morning after the purchase Barnato started out early, and the pony, without trouble, took him in and out among the debris heaps to every one that chap had been in the habit of calling on. We paid £27 10s. for it, but it brought us a good connection and very much money."

To lend Barnato small change was to say good by to it. He never repaid small loans. He was also absent-minded.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY.

The British Empire may be said to have been built up by companies like the British South Africa Company. Backed by almost any amount of capital, these "entering wedges" as the companies really are, partly, commercially absorb territory and eventually get themselves into trouble enough to warrant the intervention of the British imperial forces. The next process is the formal annexation of the companies' lands to the British Empire.

The company operating in South Africa is a particularly powerful organization and its brain-piece is Cecil Rhodes. Before the Jameson raid, the Duke of Fife, son-in-law of the Prince of Wales, was prominent in the affairs of the company, but the Jameson scandal, or miss-fere, it is believed, compelled him to resign. The Duke of Abercorn, an official of the Prince of Wales' household, is now the chairman of the company's board of directors and some of the most influential men in great Britain are directors or shareholders in the concern, which obtained its charter October 29, 1889, ostensibly for the exploitation of Rhodesia, though its influence extends far beyond South Africa.

In order to give our readers a clear idea of the power of the British South Africa Company, we think it best to publish the official correspondence on the subject, as it enters into all the details of the company's powers. The correspondence grew out of the movement to reconstitute the administration powers of the British South Africa Company (one of the results of the Jameson raid), which was done on the basis given below.

A British parliamentary paper, issued February 24, 1898, contains the following documents:

MR. CHAMBERLAIN TO HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR ALFRED MILNER.

Downing Street, January 13, 1898.

Sir: I have, as you are aware, for a long time past given my earnest attention to the question of the future exercise of its administrative powers by the British South Africa Company.



HOSPITAL AT JOHANNESBURG.



HILLOCKS BEHIND WHICH BOERS SEEK SHELTER IN ACTION.

2. I deferred coming to any final decision in the matter until I had had an opportunity of learning your views after your visit to Rhodesia. I have now formulated the proposals which are contained in the accompanying memorandum.

3. Much as I should like to relieve the High Commissioner of some of the already heavy duties of his office, I have deliberately come to the conclusion that to preserve consistency of administration throughout the British sphere in South Africa it is necessary that the control of the Crown over the local administration of Rhodesia must for the present continue to be exercised through the High Commissioner, and it will be seen that the proposed measures aim not so much at setting up new machinery for the control of the company's administration by the Crown as at rendering that which is already provided for the purpose more effective in its action.

4. I shall be glad to learn the views of the Government of the Cape Colony on the proposals herein contained, as well as your own views as High Commissioner for South Africa.

5. I am anxious to communicate the proposals of her Majesty's Government to Parliament as early as possible, with any observations that may be made upon them, and I should therefore wish to receive a reply at the earliest convenience of yourself, and your ministers.

I have, etc.,

J. Chamberlain.

1. The authority of the Crown over the British South Africa Company is, in theory, already elaborately provided for by the charter, "The South Africa Order in Council, 1891," and "The Matabeleland Order in Council, 1894."

2. By the charter the company's ordinances require the approval of the Secretary of State. They have always been duly submitted to and frequently modified by him.

3. If the company should have any difference with a native chief or tribe, the Secretary of State may require the company to submit the matter to him and to act in accordance with his decision. If the Secretary of State should object to any proceedings of the company in regard to the natives, the company must act in accordance with his directions.

4. The company is required to furnish annually accounts of its administrative expenditures and of its public revenues, as distinguished

from commercial profits, for the previous year, and estimates of like expenditure and revenue for the ensuing year. The company is also required to furnish any reports, accounts, or information which the Secretary of State may desire.

5. Finally there is the power to revoke the charter of the company should it fail to observe and conform to its provisions.

6. The proposals under this head are confined to the territories administered by the company south of the Zambesi known as Southern Rhodesia. The question of the administration of the territories north of the Zambesi is reserved for future consideration.

7. The administration of Southern Rhodesia is regulated by "the Matabeleland Order in Council, 1894." Previous to that date general powers of legislation and appointment of officers were exercised by the High Commissioner for South Africa, under the South Africa Order in Council of May 9, 1891. These powers are preserved by the Order of 1894, but are now exercised, in regard to the appointment of officers, only so far as is provided, by the Order of 1894, and in regard to legislation, by proclamation, which is still largely resorted to.

8. Under the Order of 1894 the administration is conducted by an administrator appointed and paid by the company, but whose appointment and salary are subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, and who may be removed by the Secretary of State, or by the company with the approval of the Secretary of State. The administrator is assisted both in executive and legislative functions, by a council consisting of the Judge of the High Court ex-officio, and three other members appointed by the company, with the approval of the Secretary of State, and removable by the company.

9. The administrator in council may legislate by "regulations" which are subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, and to disallowance within one year by the Secretary of State or by the company. It appears, however, that taxation cannot be imposed by regulation.

10. The High Commissioner may, as already stated, legislate by proclamation.

11. The company (in London), as already indicated, may legislate by ordinance, approved by the Secretary of State (under the Charter).

12. A High Commissioner's proclamation may not without his

consent be amended or repealed by a regulation or an ordinance. An ordinance may be suspended by a regulation, and a regulation may be amended or repealed by an ordinance.

13. The High Commissioner has thus complete control of local legislation.

14. As regards the administration of justice, the Judge or Judges of the High Court are appointed and paid by the company, but their appointments and salaries are subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, and they are not removable except by the Secretary of State. The appointment of magistrates requires the High Commissioner's approval, and is subject to the Secretary of State's confirmation. The High Commissioner may suspend, and the Secretary of State may remove, a judge or magistrate.

15. That the authority provided for by these instruments has in the past proved ineffective may be ascribed to the (perhaps necessarily) great latitude given at first by the board of directors to their officers in South Africa, and to the absence, until 1896, of any officials on the spot to represent the Crown.

16. Early in 1896 the first step was taken with a view to remedying this defect. All the armed forces in Southern Rhodesia were placed under the direct control of the Crown. The commandant and other officers, though paid by the company, are appointed by the Crown. The present commandant is also Deputy Commissioner.

17. In accordance with a recent understanding, the appointment of Native Commissioners is subject to the High Commissioner's approval. It is proposed that in future the appointment and removal of native commissioners shall be subject to the same conditions as those of magistrates.

18. The administrative functions of the company are so ultimately connected with its finances that it would be impossible, without giving rise to an erroneous idea as to financial responsibility, to make any great change in the constitution of the company or the form of local administration. All that can be done is to make such changes as will render perfectly effective the safeguards already provided in theory; and it is through effective local control rather than through changes in the constitution of the board of directors that this end can best be attained.

19. The British South Africa Company have themselves suggested

a reconstitution of the Administrator's Council by the addition of four elected members—two from Matabeleland and two from Mashonaland—and of as many members nominated by the company as will preserve to them a majority so long as they are responsible for meeting the expenditure. It is proposed to agree to this modification of the constitution of the Council.

20. It is also proposed so to modify the existing arrangements as to legislation and administration in Southern Rhodesia that the control of the High Commissioner may be more direct, and may be based upon full information obtained locally through an imperial officer specially appointed for that purpose.

21. With regard to legislation, it is proposed that the enactment of ordinances by the board of directors shall be discontinued, and that all legislation, including the imposition of taxes, shall be effected in South Africa, generally by ordinances to be enacted by the Administrator in Council, and, in exceptional instances, by proclamation of the High Commissioner. As at present, a proclamation by the High Commissioner would be of superior force to an ordinance of the Administrator in Council, and would not be liable to amendment or repeal by an ordinance without his previous consent. Ordinances would be subject to confirmation by the High Commissioner and to disallowance by the Secretary of State at any time within one year.

22. It is proposed that the imperial officer mentioned in paragraph 20 should be styled Resident Commissioner; that he shall be appointed and paid by the Crown; that he should not, except as regards the employment of the armed forces, interfere with the work of administration, and should have no power to overrule the Administrator or Council, or to deal directly with the subordinate officers of the company; but that he should have a seat on the Council with a right to speak, but not to vote, and full power to call for information or reports on any subject through the Administrator. On the information furnished by him the High Commissioner would act in confirming, reserving, or disallowing ordinances, and in giving or withholding his approval of appointments and removals from office.

23. It is proposed that the commandant of the forces should be appointed and paid by the Crown, but should no longer be Deputy Commissioner. As regards the employment of the forces under his command for ordinary police purposes, including the suppression of

internal disorder, he would be authorized to act on his own discretion, but would be ordinarily guided by the wishes and requirements of the Administrator and his subordinate officers; but should he in any case think it undesirable to comply with their wishes and requirements, he would refer for instructions to the Resident Commissioner, and he would in no case take action of the nature of a military operation without the authority of the Resident Commissioner.

24. If the company so desire, there would be no objection to the appointment of two separate Administrators—one for Matabeleland and the other for Mashonaland; in that case, each Administrator would have a separate executive council, but there would be one Legislative Council for the whole of Southern Rhodesia of which both the Administrators would be members, and one of them would be President.

25. Except as modified by these proposals or by the efflux of time the provisions of the Matabeleland Order in Council would be maintained.

26. Of the three most immediately important questions of local administration, viz.: (1) the border relations of the company; (2) local self-government; and (3) the settlement of the natives: the first is covered by the practical effect given to the provisions of the charter by the control of the armed forces being vested in officers directly responsible to the Crown; as to the second, Administrator's regulations have already been passed and approved by the High Commissioner to provide for the constitution of municipalities (which, it is understood, the company intend shortly to establish at Buluwayo and Salisbury), and it is proposed, as above stated, to introduce an elective element into the Council; as to the third, elaborate provisions in the form of a "regulation" by the Administrator in Council are now under the consideration of the High Commissioner and the Secretary of State, which will, it is hoped, amply provide for the just interests and due protection of the natives.

27. It is believed that the proposals in the preceding paragraphs would render effective the already extensive powers of the Crown over the local administration of the company without assuming any responsibility to its shareholders and debenture-holders. That responsibility must remain with the board of directors.

28. It is, at the same time, desirable that her Majesty's Government should have more ample information than they have hitherto

been able to obtain as to the transactions and general financial situation of the company.

29. The creation of a Board of Commissioners somewhat similar to that created by the India Act, 1784, for the control of affairs of the East India Company, is an expedient which naturally suggests itself.

30. The India Act empowered the Crown to appoint a Board of Control, consisting of a Secretary of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other Privy Councillors, not exceeding four in number. This Board was invested with very great powers, which give it practically complete control over all the transactions of the court of directors, and, therefore, very great responsibility for those transactions.

31. It is authorized "to superintend, direct, and control all acts, operations, and concerns which in any wise relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies." All the members of the Board were to have access to all papers and muniments of the company, and were to be furnished with such extracts or copies thereof as they might require. The directors were required, within eight days of their passing, to deliver to the Board copies of all minutes, orders, resolutions and other proceedings, so far as they related to the civil or military government or revenues of the British possessions in the East Indies, and also copies of all dispatches from the East Indies immediately on their arrival, and copies of all dispatches proposed to be sent. The directors were to pay due obedience to, and be governed and bound by, such orders and directions as they might receive from the Board of Control touching the civil or military government or revenues of the territory, but had the right of appeal to the Privy Council when they considered that such orders did not relate to these subjects.

32. To apply such a system in its entirety to the British South Africa Company would amount to the creation of a separate public office with full responsibility for the government and revenues of the territories in question, and therefore by implication, with a certain responsibility for the finances of the company, from the funds of which a great part of the cost of administration must for some time to come be supplied.

33. The creation of a similar board for the affairs of the British South Africa Company would necessarily, therefore, involve changes which, while quite feasible, would differentiate it considerably from its

Indian prototype, and, in view of the proposed changes, in the local administrative machinery, it is not at present proposed to do more than to define explicitly and to strengthen the existing powers of the Secretary of State and to indicate the way in which they may be exercised.

34. It is proposed that the Board of Directors shall be required to communicate to the Secretary of State within eight days of their being passed all minutes, orders, or resolutions, of the Board dealing with administration, and that the Secretary of State shall have power to veto or suspend the operation of any such minute, order, or resolution which may seem to him objectionable.

35. It is further proposed that the Secretary of State shall, through such persons as he may from time to time appoint, have access to all the records of the company, and be furnished with copies of all correspondence between the London board and the Administrator or other officials of the company in South Africa, and with such other documents, special reports, and accounts as he may require, and that he shall have power to remove from his office any director or official of the company in London who fails to comply with his requirements. As at present proposed, the powers of inspecting records and correspondence would be exercised through officials of the Colonial Office specially appointed for the purpose.

36. The constitution of the Board of Directors would, at the same time, be altered by the withdrawal of the life directors appointed under clause 29 of the original charter, leaving the whole body of directors to be elected by the shareholders, any official or director removed by the Secretary of State not being eligible or re-eligible without the consent of the Secretary of State.

The draft scheme having been transmitted to the High Commissioner at the Cape for his opinion and for that of the Government of Cape Colony, Sir Alfred Milner expressed his approval of the general principal of the scheme and the Cape Ministers, in a memorandum upon it, said :

"We note with satisfaction the practical recognition of the representative principle and regard it as an indication of preparation for the time when self-government will be accorded to the territory, probably in the form of a federal union with Cape Colony."

The Government of Natal also had the scheme laid before them, but decided to "offer no remarks upon it at this stage." The British South

Africa Company, to whom this draft scheme was sent for consideration, made, through the secretary of the company, the following observations:

"My directors concur with the proposal that all legislation shall in future be passed locally, but in view of the financial responsibility of the Board of Shareholders, and of the increased powers proposed to be intrusted to the local administration, they submit that the power at present vested in the company of directing and controlling all fiscal legislation should remain intact, and that authority to disallow all legislation passed by the Legislative Council, subject, if so desired, to the approval of the Secretary of State, should be retained by the company.

"With reference to clause 24, my directors desire power to appoint two separate administrators, one for Matabeleland and the other for Mashonaland, but would submit for the consideration of the Secretary of State that the manifest advantage of promoting uniformity of administration throughout Southern Rhodesia, and the difficulty of constituting two equally efficient executive councils occasioned by the various heads of departments being stationed permanently at one centre, alike point to the advisability of establishing one executive council only."

To this the Colonial Office replied as follows:

"I am to say that Mr. Chamberlain thinks it not unreasonable that the directors should continue to have a voice in controlling the legislation for the company's territories, on the ground that much of it may affect the financial responsibilities of the Board. He is therefore ready to modify the proposal in paragraph 21 of the memorandum of proposals by giving authority to the Board of Directors to disallow ordinances passed by the Legislative Council, subject to the power of the Secretary of State to overrule their veto. Probably the wishes of the Board in the matter will be sufficiently met by providing that the Secretary of State may within a year disallow an ordinance, either of his own motion or at the request of the Board of Directors.

"Mr. Chamberlain agreed with the Board of Directors that in present circumstances it would not be advisable to have more than one executive council for Matabeleland and Mashonaland."



CHAPTER XIV.

RHODESIA.

Rhodesia, the brilliant creation of Cecil Rhodes, at the outbreak of the war, covered an area of about 750,000 square miles. The Zambesi river flows through it, dividing the territory into Southern and Northern Rhodesia.

Southern Rhodesia consisted of the two provinces of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. Mashonaland was bounded on the north by a line running roughly in a southeasterly direction from Zambo, on the Zambesi, to the intersection of the river Mazoe with 33 degrees east longitude; on the southwest by Matabeleland, and on the east by the Portuguese province of Lorenzo Marques. The capital, and the seat of government of Rhodesia, was Salisbury, with a population of 1,800. The other principal townships were New Umtali, Melsetter, and Enkel-doorn. A railroad was being built, running inland towards Salisbury from Beira, on the coast, and it was already sixty miles beyond Umtali. Its completion would place Salisbury in direct communication with the sea over a line 382 miles in length. It was then proposed to connect Salisbury with Buluwayo. The African Trans-Continental Telegraph Company had constructed a line between Umtali and Tete, and from there on to Blantyre, in British Central Africa, and to Zambo, Fort Johnston, Kota Kota, on the western shore of Lake Nyassa, and Karonga, at the northwestern end of the lake. The survey on to Lake Tanganyika was practically completed. Matabeleland lay between the Limpopo and middle Zambesi rivers, and was bounded on the northeast by Mashonaland and on the south by the Transvaal and Khama's country. The principal town, and the chief commercial centre in Rhodesia, was Buluwayo, with a population of 5,000. Telegraphic communication existed between Cape Town and Buluwayo, and Salisbury, and in the Buluwayo district the telegraph system had been considerably extended. Buluwayo also had telephone communication with the principal stations. The extension of the Cape Government Western Railroad system through Kimberley and Vryburg to Buluwayo was completed in October, 1897, and was officially opened November 4. The distance from Cape Town to Buluwayo is 1,360 miles.

Northern Rhodesia consisted of the whole of the British sphere north of the Zambesi, lying between Portuguese East Africa, German East Africa, the Congo Free State, and Angola, with the exception of the strip of territory forming the British Central Africa Protectorate, which was under direct imperial administration. North of the Zambesi the country has as yet been little prospected. Coal has been found on the shore of Lake Nyassa. The North Charterland Exploration Company, which held a grant of 10,000 square miles north of the Zambesi, was engaged in trading, agriculture, and stock-breeding operations. A new industry had recently been started in fibre, on which the representative of a large London company had been experimenting with satisfactory results.

Public roads in Rhodesia had been made to the extent of 2,230 miles, and telegraph lines to the extent of 1,856 miles of line and 2,583 miles of wire. The rinderpest, which for several years had been devastating Africa, traveling slowly through the continent from north to south, made its first appearance in Matabeleland in February, 1896. The adoption of the drastic regulations which the Administration decided to enforce had to some extent checked the progress of the epidemic, when the outbreak of the Matabeleland rebellion put a stop to all precautionary measures. The effects of the disease were far-reaching, and, apart from considerations of human life, were more disastrous than those of the native rebellion. During the twelve months succeeding the outbreak of the rebellion, agriculture was practically at a standstill. Since the pacification of the country considerable tracts of land have been placed under cultivation, and fresh stock, including Angora sheep and Merino goats, have been imported. Throughout the country the conditions of soil and climate are suitable for all kinds of European cereals and vegetables; and, in addition, many trees, shrubs and plants, peculiar to subtropical regions, can be successfully cultivated. Good results have already been obtained from the introduction of fruit and other trees. Tobacco occurs in a wild state, is grown universally by the natives, and has been produced of excellent quality by white farmers in several districts. India rubber, indigo and cotton are similarly indigenous, and will probably well repay cultivation. The Rhodesian forests produce abundance of hard timber of fine quality, and a company was formed to work this industry with a view to meeting the large demand for building and other purposes in Salisbury and Bulawayo.

In addition to gold, silver, copper, coal, tin, plumbago, antimony, arsenic and kieselguhr have been discovered. The arrival of the railroad at Buluwayo gave an impetus to the mining industry; and many mines have machinery on the ground. The crushings at the Geelong mine for the month of September, 1898, averaged $19\frac{1}{2}$ pwts., including tailings, to the ton. In Southern Rhodesia a company was formed to develop the India rubber industry on a large scale. Full advantage was taken of the facilities afforded to the Administrator in Council by the Matabeleland Order in Council, in 1894, to legislate locally by means of regulations, and upwards of forty measures have been thus passed.

In consequence of the Jameson raid into the Transvaal the control of the military forces of the powerful British South Africa Company was removed from its hands and placed in the hands of the Imperial Government.

CHAPTER XV.

EXPLORATIONS IN THE DARK CONTINENT.

The name of Africa was bestowed upon the Dark Continent by the Romans; by the Greeks it was called Libya.

As to the meaning of the name, the language of Carthage supplies an explanation; the word "Afrygah," signifying a colony, or separate establishment, as Carthage was of Tyre. Naturally the Phœnicians of old may have spoken of their Afrygah in the same manner as we refer to colonies. The Arabs of the present day give the name of Afrygah, or Afrikiyah, to the territory of Tunis.

The attention of the whole civilized world is now directed toward the Dark Continent, Africa, the vast peninsula which is connected with Asia by the Isthmus of Suez. Northeastern Africa was the home of the Egyptians, the first civilized nation of the world, and the powerful State of Carthage afterward occupied Northern Africa, which eventually became a part of the great Roman Empire. There is good reason for believing that the peninsula form of Africa was known to the ancients, and it is believed to have been circumnavigated by the Phœnicians. The Arabs were the first to explore the interior of Northern Africa, and the Portuguese navigators of the fifteenth century were the first to complete the known circumnavigation of Africa. In our chapter on the early history of South Africa we have described the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and the colonization of that part of the world by the Dutch and English, so in this chapter we will touch on Africa of the ancients.

The Phœnicians formed colonies on the northern coast of Africa about three thousand years ago, and the conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes dates from the year B. C. 525. The coasts of Egypt, of the Red Sea and of the Mediterranean were settled and well known to the ancient Asiatics, who passed constantly across the narrow isthmus which divided Asia from Africa and led them from sun-dried deserts into a fertile valley watered by the Nile. It is not definitely known whether they were much acquainted with the western coast of Africa, and the eastern coast on the Indian Ocean. But Necho, King of



Egypt, sent an expedition of Phoenician seamen for the purpose of circumnavigating Africa, and on their return the Phoenicians asserted that they had sailed around the continent. The story is not much credited, although several modern writers contend that the circumnavigation of Africa was actually performed upon this occasion.

Some fifty years after this supposed expedition the account of another voyage, along the western coast, has been handed down, and has also been the subject of many long discussions among geographers.

Under the Ptolemies, the great patrons of science and promoters of discovery, Egypt, having the advantage of the only great river which runs from the interior of the African continent into the Mediterranean, made little or no progress beyond its ancient boundaries, and the Romans, who subsequently took possession of Egypt, extended their discoveries no further than Fezzan, in one direction, and as far as Abyssinia and the regions of the Upper Nile.

Very little is known of the progress made by the Carthagenians in the exploration of interior Africa, though it has been asserted that Carthagenian merchants reached the banks of the interior river, now called the Niger.

The Arabs are the people from whom we derive the first authentic information regarding the interior of Northern Africa. By means of the camel, otherwise the "Ship of the Desert," the Arabs were able to penetrate, across the Great Desert, to the center of the African Continent, and as far as the Senegal and the Gambia on the west, and to Sofala on the east coast. On the latter coast the Arabs explored far beyond any of the supposed limits of ancient discovery and planted colonies at Sofala, Mombas, Melinda and at a number of other places.

A new era in maritime discovery began in the fifteenth century, when the voyages of the Portuguese gave fairly accurate outlines of the coast of Africa, and the discovery of America and the islands of the West Indies led to the traffic in African negroes which caused so much trouble to various nations before it was suppressed. In fact, the slave trade is not thoroughly stamped out at the present moment, for the Arab slave-traders of certain parts of Africa are still powerful, in spite of the efforts of the colonizing powers to kill the trade entirely.

When the English and French settlers reached Africa a systematic survey of the coast and interior began.

In 1788 an association for the promotion of the exploration of Inner

Africa was formed in London. It led to important discoveries by Houghton, Mungo Park, Hornemann and Burckhardt. This association was, in 1831, merged into the Royal Geographical Society.

More has been done during the last sixty years to develop the geography of Africa than during the whole 1,700 previous years.

Mungo Park, in 1795, traveled from the River Gambia, on the west coast, to the Niger and traced this river as far as the town of Silla. He also explored the intervening countries and determined the southern borders of the Sahara.

In 1805 Mungo Park started on a second expedition into the same regions, intending to descend the River Niger to its mouth, but on this occasion he added but little to the discoveries made, and lost his life while on the journey. He passed Timbuctoo and reached Boussa, where the traveler was killed by the natives.

A Portuguese traveler, Dr. Lacerda, in 1798, who had previously explored Brazil, made the first great exploration of Southeastern Africa, going inland from Mozambique and reaching the capital of the African king known as Cazembe, in whose territory Lacerda died.

In 1796-98 Hornemann traveled from Cairo to Murzuk and obtained valuable information regarding the countries to the south, notably Bornu, where he perished.

Two mercantile traders in the employ of a Portuguese firm made the first actual crossing of the Dark Continent between the years 1802 and 1806. They passed from Angola, eastward, through the territories of the Muata Hinavo and the Cazembe, to the settlements on the Zambesi.

The British Government, in 1816, sent an expedition under Captain Tuckey to the River Congo, which was then believed to be the lower course of the Niger. The additions to the geography of Africa were but slight, as the expedition only ascended the river to a point about 280 miles distant.

Three travelers, Denham, Clapperton and Oudney, in 1822, left Tripoli, crossed the Great Desert, and, February 4, 1823, reached Lake Chad and explored the surrounding countries as far as Mandara in the south and Sakatu in the west. Oudney died in Bornu. Clapperton started on a second expedition from the coast of Guinea, crossed the Kawara, and arrived at Sakatu, where he died.

Caillié, in 1827-28, started from the Rio Nunez, on the western

coast, reached Timbuctoo, and returned through the Great Desert to Morocco.

The head of the Niger River was not found until 1830, when it was located by Lander and his brother. They traced the river from the Yaouri down to its mouth.

A great Niger expedition, consisting of three steamers, was dispatched by the British Government, in 1841, under Captain Trotter. It resulted in great loss of life and turned out to be a complete failure. Duncan, one of the survivors of this expedition, added to the geographical knowledge of the world (1845-46) by his journey to Adafoodia. In a second attempt, in the same region, made for purpose of reaching Timbuctoo, Duncan died.

The Church Missionary Society, in 1845, established a station near Mombas, in about latitude four degrees south, on the east coast of Africa, and the missionaries made explorations into the interior. In 1849 the Rev. Mr. Redmann discovered the great snow-clad mountain of Kilima-njaro, rising on the edge of the inland plateau. Dr. Krapf, a companion of Mr. Redmann, going in a more northerly direction, sighted a second large snow-clad mountain named Kenia, directly beneath the equator. The missionaries also heard reports of vast lakes in the interior, beyond the mountains they had discovered, which aroused much interest in this region.

In 1849 an expedition was organized by James Richardson for the purpose of concluding commercial treaties with the chiefs of North Africa as far as Lake Chad, the idea being to extend trade with that part of Africa and to abolish the system of slavery. This expedition had almost reached its destination, when Richardson died, and one of his companions, Overweg, also succumbed. A third member of the party, Dr. Barth, continued the work of exploration until 1856, traversing almost the whole of the Northern Soudan, and collecting material of a most valuable description regarding the Central Negro States.

Dr. Livingstone, an agent of the London Missionary Society, who had traveled in the countries immediately north of Cape Colony since 1840, began in the summer of 1849 the remarkable travels in the interior of Southern Africa which continued until he died. The discovery of Lake Ngami, the central point of the continental drainage of South Africa, was the great discovery made by Livingstone during the first year of these explorations.

A Portuguese traveler named Graca, in 1846, succeeded in reaching the country, from Angola, of a South African king named Muata Ynavo. Graca was followed by a Hungarian named Ladislau, who explored the central country from 1847 to 1851.

Dr. Livingstone, between 1851 and 1853, made two journeys northward from his headquarters in the land of the Bechuanas, and had the honor of being the first European to embark upon the upper course of the Zandeze. He then led a party of natives westward, upstream, to little Lake Dilolo, and from there to the western slope, reaching the Portuguese coast on Loanda in 1854.

A part of the southwestern country, inhabited by the Damaras and Ovampo, was explored during 1851 by Galton from Walfish Bay to a point in latitude 17.58 south and longitude 21 east. He succeeded in determining accurately a number of positions in that region.

Silva Porto, a Portuguese trader, left Benguela in 1853, took an eastward route, parallel but to the northward of Zandeze, over an unknown country, and rounded the southern end of Lake Nyassa, which was afterward explored by Dr. Livingstone, and crossed the east coastland to the mouth of the Rovuma, taking a year and two months to finish his journey.

Another remarkable journey was made by Dr. Livingstone (1855-56), who, returning by a somewhat more northerly route than he had followed in going westward to Loanda, went down the Zandeze to its mouth at Quilimane, and discovered on his way the wonderful Victoria Falls of the river.

The year 1857 was one of great interest to African travelers. In the southwest Damara Land was explored by Hahn and Rath, as far as the southern limit of the Portuguese territory. Dr. Bastian explored the interior of the Congo and Angola, and Du Chaillu started on his journey to the forest country of the Fan tribes, on the equatorial west coast.

Captains Burton and Specke, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, two travelers who had previously distinguished themselves by a perilous journey to Harar, a trade headquarters in the Somali and Galla country, of the East African promontory, started from Zanzibar to explore the great inland lakes spoken of by the Mombas missionaries. They succeeded in discovering Lake Tanganyika, and the southern portion of what was then supposed to be perhaps a greater



THE MARKET-SQUARE AT KIMBERLEY.



MARKET-SQUARE AND TOWN HALL IN BLOEMFONTEIN.



THE PRESIDENCY AT BLOEMFONTEIN, CAPITAL OF ORANGE FREE STATE.



lake, northward, believed by Specke to be the head reservoir of the Nile.

Several travelers in 1858 added considerably to the stock of information above the Upper White Nile, from the Egyptian side, while in the northern part of Africa Duveyrier, a French traveler, explored the Sahara Desert south of Algeria.

Captain Specke, in 1860, accompanied by Captain Grant, again left Zanzibar and reached a point on the northwestern shores of the great lake which he had previously discovered and which he named the Victoria Nyanza. From there he traced the outflowing river to the White Nile at Gondokro, thereby completing a great link in the chain of African discoveries.

Dr. Livingstone in the meanwhile had attempted to find a way to his newly discovered Lake Nyassa, from the mouth of the Rovuma, a large river flowing into the Indian Ocean near Cape Delgado, which was reported to take its rise in that lake. But the river turned out to be unnavigable beyond a point only a short distance from the sea. The traveler then returned to the Shire River, and, carrying a boat past the rapids on that stream, began to explore the whole length of Lake Nyassa.

A second great reservoir lake of the Nile was discovered in 1864 near the latitude of the Victoria Nyanza by Baker, who was pushing southward from Gondokoro. He named this lake the Albert Nyanza.

Du Chaillu, in 1864-65, explored the gorilla country of Ashango, south of the great Ogowai River.

Walker, in 1866, navigated the Ogowai River for two hundred miles from its mouth, and the same year Hahn and Rath extended their exploration of Damara Land, while on the eastern side Wakefield and New, of the Monbas Mission, made several short expeditions into the Galla country, collecting valuable information about the countries between this coastland and the great lakes of the Nile basin. Dr. Livingstone, in that year, again entered the Rovuma River, starting on the journey from which he never returned. Letters received from Livingstone from time to time enabled the scientists to trace his movements from 1866 on. He passed up the Rovuma River to the confluence of its main tributary branches, one coming from the northwest and the other from the southwest. The traveler followed the latter and went round the southern end of Lake Nyassa. Then traveling in a north-

westerly direction he crossed the head waters of the Aruangoa tributary of the Zandeze, ascended a highland and came upon a portion of the Chambeze River. Continuing in a northwesterly direction Dr. Livingstone discovered Lake Liemba, a southern extension of Lake Tanganyika. This was in April, 1867. From there the explorer turned to the Cazembe's town, and making journeys from that place, he discovered two great lakes—Moero, in September, 1867, and Bangweolo, or Bemba, in July, 1868.

During the year of 1869 Dr. Livingstone had made his way to Ujiji, on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika. He crossed the lake and penetrated the dense tropical forests and swamps of the Manyema country, in the center of the southern portion of the African Continent. During his travels in 1870-71 Dr. Livingstone traced the River Lualaba, which flows out of Lake Moero, to a second and then to a third great lake.

Owing to reports of the death of Dr. Livingstone near the Nianza an expedition to search for him was sent out by the Royal Geographical Society in 1867, and it was ascertained that he was still alive, though no news had been received from him then for more than two years.

The New York Herald, in 1870, sent Henry Stanley, a member of its staff, in search of Livingstone. History has it that James Gordon Bennett simply cabled to Stanley, saying:

"Go and find Livingstone."

Be that as it may, Stanley sailed from Bombay in October, 1870, reached Zanzibar on the east coast of Africa early in January, 1871, and November 10, the same year, he found Dr. Livingstone at Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika, where the great explorer had just returned from the southward. Stanley furnished Dr. Livingstone with supplies, explored the northern part of Lake Tanganyika with him, and remained in the traveler's company until 1872, when Dr. Livingstone started on the last stage of the journey from which he never came back. Stanley returned to England in July, 1872, and was received with great enthusiasm. Queen Victoria presented him with a gold snuff box set with diamonds, and the Royal Geographical Society, in 1873, bestowed on him the patron's gold medal.

As a result of his successful journey to Africa Stanley was sent by the New York Herald and the London Daily Telegraph on another African expedition. He reached Zanzibar in the autumn of 1874, and,

hearing that Dr. Livingstone was dead, he was ordered to go northward and explore the region of Lake Victoria Nyanza. After many encounters with the natives and the loss by death or desertion of one hundred and four men out of his party of three hundred, Stanley reached the lake in February, 1875, and found it to be the largest body of fresh water on the globe, having an area of 40,000 square miles. He then pushed westward in the direction of Lake Albert Nyanza and satisfied himself that it was not, as had been generally supposed, connected with Lake Tanganyika.

The hostility of the natives forced Stanley to return to Ujiji, but he determined to descend the great river discovered by Dr. Livingstone, and believed by the latter to be the Nile. Other explorers, however, thought this was the Congo, and Stanley ascertained that this was correct. It had been named by Livingstone the Lualaba, but Stanley named it the Livingstone. In descending the river, chiefly by the use of canoes, Stanley occupied about eight months, and lost thirty-five of his men. On reaching the coast a Portuguese vessel took Stanley to St. Paul de Loanda, from which place a British vessel conveyed the party to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to Zanzibar. Stanley reached England in February, 1878.

Stanley visited Africa again in 1879-82, having been sent there by the Brussels International Association with the object of developing the great basin of the River Congo. King Leopold of Belgium devoted \$250,000 per annum from his private purse toward this enterprise.

In 1884 Stanley had completed his work, having established trading stations along the Congo River, from its mouth to Stanley Pool, a distance of 1,400 miles by the river.

In 1887 Stanley made a fourth journey to Africa, this time for the purpose of relieving Emin Pasha, Governor of Equatorial Africa, whose condition, in Europe, is said to have been at that time precarious. Stanley succored Emin Pasha and brought him and his party back to Egypt, after the most severe hardships and with the loss of over four hundred out of the six hundred and fifty men he had taken with him. He occupied nearly three years in this journey, and among the important geographical results were the discovery of the Semliki River; of Mount Ruwenzori, believed to be about 17,000 feet high; of Lake Albert Edward, and of the southwestern extension of Lake Victoria.

It turned out that Lake Albert Edward was the primary source of the White Nile, and it was shown that its waters connected, through the Semliki, with Lake Albert Nyanza.

In order to afford support to Dr. Livingstone and add to the geography of Equatorial Africa, the Royal Geographical Society fitted out two expeditions in 1872. One of them, led by Lieutenant Cameron, was to follow in the footsteps of Dr. Livingstone. This expedition left Zanzibar early in 1873 under the auspices of Sir Bartel Frere's mission, and gathered considerable information regarding the interior. The other expedition, known as the Livingstone Congo expedition, under Lieutenant Granby, passed from the west coast to the interior by following the River Congo and also added to the fund of information about Central Africa.

It is hardly necessary to add that volumes could be written about the exploration of Central Africa, but we think we have thoroughly outlined the subject in this chapter, and have referred to the prominent explorers of the Dark Continent and their journeys in the interest of science and civilization.



CHAPTER XVI.

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF AFRICA.

In form Africa may be likened to a triangle, or to an oval of irregular shape. The area of Africa has never been accurately determined, but it is estimated to be about 9,858,000 geographical square miles, exclusive of the islands. Africa is larger than either Europe or Australia, but smaller than Asia and the American continent. The African coast line is very regular and unbroken, and presents few bays and peninsulas. The Gulf of Guinea, with its two secondary divisions, the Bight of Benin and the Bight of Biafra, form the chief indentations.

The physical configuration of Africa may be placed under two heads—the great tablelands, with their mountain ranges, of Central and Southern Africa, and the great lowlands and plains of Northern Africa. The latter comprise the Sahara, the Lake Chad region and the valley of the Lower Nile.

The Sahara, popularly believed to be a desert, is by no means only a plain, for the greater part of it rises into tablelands, with mountain groups here and there. Some of the mountains are quite high and heavy snowstorms have been known to occur on the mountains bordering the Sahara Desert.

The great portion of the African plateau land is to the southward of the tenth parallel of north latitude and is prolonged on the eastern side almost to the north coast of the continent by the tableland of Abyssinia, the highest surface of Africa, and by mountains which extend from it between the lower course of the Nile and the Red Sea. Jebbel Attaka, which rises immediately west of Suez to a height of 2,640 feet, may be said to be the terminal point of the highland. From this point to the southern end of the continent the eastern edge of the great plateau runs in an almost unbroken line. The most prominent heights before the tableland of Abyssinia is reached are Mounts Elba, 6,900 feet, and Soturba, 6,000 feet in elevation, near the middle of the African coast of the Red Sea.

There are a number of high mountains in Africa, including Mount Abba Jared, 15,000 feet above the sea; Mount Kenia, 18,000 feet, and Mount Kilimanjaro, 18,715 feet. The highest point in all Africa

marks the eastern edge under the equator. Further south, on the inland route from Zanzibar to the Tanganyika, the edge is known as the Rubeho Mountains, with a height of 5,700 feet at the pass by which they are crossed on the caravan route.

In the Transvaal Republic, where the Drakenberg joins the Kooge Veldt, the edge attains a height of 8,725 feet at the summit, named after the explorer Mauch, but it is highest where it forms the interior limit of Natal, and where Cathkin Peak rises 10,357 feet above the sea level.

The western edge of the African plateau is, as a rule, lower than the eastern, and the whole slope of the continent is more or less from the great heights on its eastern side, toward the west.

Rounding the western side of Cape Colony three ridges run together and decrease somewhat in elevation as the mouth of the Orange River is approached. Their elevation at the place where they join in Little Namaqualand is still very considerable. There Mount Welcome reached 5,130 feet and Vogelklip, north of it, is 4,343 feet high.

Through Benguela and Angola, northward, a more broken series of ridges mark the descent to the interior plateau. The great Congo river breaks through to the coastland at the place where it forms the cataracts of the Yellala.

The northern edge of the great African plateau runs eastward between the fourth and eighth parallels of north latitude to a point where the Nile falls over its slope, forming the succession of rapids above Gondokoro. Beyond the Nile the margin of the plateau curves northward.

According to the best authorities, the general elevation of the surface of the great African plateau may be said to be from 3,000 to 4,000 feet above the sea, though its surface presents great undulations.

The Blue Mountains are the most prominent of the interior masses. They were discovered by Baker, rising from the western shore of Lake Albert to a height of about 10,000 feet.

Another great central line of height runs from the north of Nyassa. It is called the Lobisa plateau, and extends through the Muchinga Mountains, which separate the drainage of the Lualaba and its lakes from that of the Zambesi basin.

Beyond the lower land of the Sahara is the plateau of Barbary, a distinct and separate highland, stretching from Cape Bon, on the Mediterranean coast, in a southwesterly direction, through Tunis, Al-

geria and Morocco, to the Atlantic coast. The eastern portion of this plateau, in Algeria and Tunis, rises from 2,000 to 3,000 feet in general height. Where it enters Morocco, on the west, the outer ridges draw together and form the high ranges of the Atlas Mountains, which attain 11,400 feet at Mount Miltzin, the extreme summit. The continent of Africa has been the least disturbed by volcanic action. The known volcanoes are those of the Camaroon Mountains, on the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, and the Artali volcano, in the depressed salt desert region between the Abyssinian plateau and the Red Sea. Then there is the Njemsi volcano, in the country between Mount Kenia and Lake Victoria. Earthquake shocks appear to be almost unknown in any part of Africa.

Salt is widely distributed throughout Africa, though in some districts it is wholly lacking. For instance, in the Abyssinian highland the salt, which is carted up in small blocks from the salt plain on the Red Sea coast, is of such hardness that it is used as money currency, and in some of the native kingdoms of South Central Africa the salt districts are royal possessions and are strictly guarded.

Metals are not very abundant in any part of Africa, and gold is probably the most generally distributed. The gold fields of the Transvaal and of the country extending thence to the Zambeze are numerous and are fully referred to elsewhere.

Copper exists in large quantities in the mountains of the central South Africa, while the diamond fields of Kimberley and other places are famous the world over.

The Nile is the oldest of historical rivers, and at one time afforded almost the only means of subsistence to the earliest civilized people on earth—the Egyptians. It drains a larger area than any other river of Africa, over 100,000 square miles. It passes during a great portion of its lower course through the desert belt of North Africa, and, receiving no tributaries there, loses much of its volume by evaporation, and is thus far surpassed by the Congo in the quantity of water conveyed to the ocean. The limit of the Nile basin on the south is formed by the high mountains which rise to the westward of Lake Albert. It is to this river and its tributaries that the fertility of lower Egypt is mainly due, for each year a large quantity of Abyssinian mud is carried down the stream to be eventually spread by the overflow of the Nile delta.

The chief streams running into the Mediterranean are the Shelif,

in Algeria, and the Muluya, in Eastern Morocco, from the highland of Barbary.

There is a stretch of 1,100 miles of waterless coast where the desert belt touches the Atlantic, intervening between the Draa, a water course which has its rise on the inner slope of the highland in Morocco and which runs into the Atlantic, and the Senegal River, which is at the beginning of the pastoral belt in latitude 15 north. The Senegal rises in the northern portion of the belt of mountains which skirt the Guinea coast, and has a northwesterly course to the sea. It is navigable during the rainy season for 500 miles, from its mouth to the cataract of Feloo, for vessels drawing twelve feet of water, but at other times it is not navigable for more than a third part of that distance.

The Gambia has its sources near those of the Senegal and flows westward in a tortuous bed over the plain country. It has a navigable channel of 400 miles, up to the falls of Barra Kunda.

In point of area of drainage and volume the Niger is the third African river. It is formed by the union of the Quorra and Benue. Its course is northeast as far as the city of Timbuctoo; then it turns due east and afterward southeast to its confluence with the Benue at a point 200 miles north from the coast of the Gulf of Guinea. Its delta is much more extensive than that of the Nile, measuring about 14,000 square miles of low, alluvial plain, covered with forest and jungle.

The Congo is the second river in Africa in point of area and drainage. The head streams of this vast river are those which supply the great lake system discovered by Dr. Livingstone. At the furthest point on the Lualaba reached by Dr. Livingstone, in about latitude six degrees south and longitude twenty-five degrees east, this great river has a breadth of from 3,000 to 6,000 yards.

The great lakes of Africa are the Victoria and Albert Lakes of the Nile basin, the former about 3,300 feet above the sea; Lake Chad, Lake Baringo, northeast of the Victoria; Lake Bangweolo, or Bemba, having an elevation of about 4,000 feet; Lakes Kamalombo, or Ulenge, and Victoria Nyanza, one of the sources of the Nile; Lake Nyassa, Lake Tanganyika, Lake Albert Nyanza and Lake Mgami.

Africa is the hottest continent of all, though the greatest heat is not found under the equator, for the whole of the central belt is protected by a dense covering of forest vegetation, which is supported by the heavy rainfall. But in the dry exposed desert belts, on the margin

of the tropics, the Sahara in the north and the Kalahari in the south, the heat is excessive. The highest temperature is found throughout the Sahara, especially in the portions toward the Red Sea. Some idea of the heat may be gained from the fact that in Upper Egypt Nubia eggs may be baked in the hot sands, and the Arabs say, "In Nubia the soil is like fire and the wind like a flame."

The African Continent is not much under the influence of the regular winds, excepting the monsoons of the Indian Ocean, the great movement of the atmosphere depending chiefly on the oscillation of the continent beneath the sun during the seasons.

In the northern and eastern regions of Africa the winds and rains are as much governed by the heating and cooling of the Asiatic Continent as that of Africa itself.

The Sahara and the Kalahari regions are almost rainless, but wherever there is a sufficient elevation to intercept a cooler stratum of the atmosphere rain is not wanting even in the midst of the great desert.

CHAPTER XVII.

OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA.

Besides her South African colonies, Great Britain owns immense slices of other parts of the Dark Continent, and France, Germany, Italy, Portugal and Spain have some share of Africa. For instance, there is British East Africa, a large area on the mainland, including the East Africa Protectorate and the Uganda Protectorate, together with the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, which are nominally governed by their Arab Sultan. The southern boundary of this territory extends in a northwest direction from the north bank of the mouth of the River Umba, going round by the north of Kilimanjaro, where the first parallel of south latitude cuts Lake Victoria; thence across the lake and westward on the same parallel to the boundary of the Congo Free State. To the north and east the British sphere is bounded by the Juba River up to six degrees north latitude, by that parallel as far as thirty-five degrees east longitude, and by that meridian northward as far as the Blue Nile. The total area embraced is probably 1,000,000 square miles. Treaties have been made by Great Britain, or, rather, by her enterprising agents, with almost all the native chiefs between the coast and Lake Albert Nyanza, and with the Somali tribes occupying the interior between the Juba and Tana, by which commercial access to the Galla country was opened.

The dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar were delimited in 1886, that is to say, they were recognized by Great Britain as including only a continuous strip of coast, ten miles in depth, reaching from Cape Delgado to Kipini, on the Ozi River. Outside this tract Great Britain and Germany agreed that the latter power should have as a sphere of influence the country stretching inland from the River Rovuma northward to the Umba River, Great Britain's sphere of influence extending northward from the Umba River. To the north of Kipini the Sultan of Zanzibar was allowed to retain several stations. But some of these were ceded to Italy in 1892, and the Italian Government took over their administration in 1893.

The German East Africa Association, in 1888, acquired the right to

administer the Mrima, or mainland, including the customs of the Sultan's ports, from the Rovuma to the Umba River on the north, for which the Sultan was paid the munificent sum of 4,000,000 marks.

The British Imperial East Africa Company acquired the right to administer the coast from the Umba to Kipini, for fifty years, on condition of an annual payment to the Sultan, and in 1889 the company further acquired the ports and islands to the north of the Tana.

Later a further settlement of territorial questions conferred on Great Britain the protectorate of Zanzibar, including the Island of Pemba, and placed under British influence the territory from the Umba north to the Juba River, including the territory of Witu, which, for a time, was placed under the control of the British East Africa Company. By the end of 1892 this company had acquired the country as far as Uganda, and between that and Lake Albert Edward and the East Semliki. By arrangement under the British Government the company retired from Uganda in 1893, and in 1894 a British protectorate was declared over Uganda proper. The company also withdrew from the administration of Witu in 1893, which temporarily was placed under the administration of the Sultan. A British protectorate over the whole territory was proclaimed June 15, 1895, from the coast to the boundaries of Uganda, including Witu, and June 20 of the same year the company evacuated the territory leased from the Sultan, the administration being taken over by the British Government. During the month of August, 1896, an official announcement was made to the effect that all the territories in British East Africa, except Zanzibar, Pemba, and the Uganda Protectorate, were, for administrative purposes, included in one protectorate, under the name of the East Africa Protectorate.

The British African Colony of the Island of Mauritius, situated 500 miles east of Madagascar, with its dependencies, Rodriguez, Diego Garcia and the Seychelles Islands, covers about 172 square miles, and has a total population of about 372,000 souls.

The British Niger Coast Protectorate occupies the whole of the coast line between Lagos and the Cameroons, excepting the territory between the Forcados and Brass Rivers, which are included in the Niger territory. Space will not allow us to touch upon the boundaries in this protectorate, which was acquired by treaties made in 1884. In 1891 the government was entrusted to an Imperial Commission and

Consul-General. No trustworthy estimates can be found of the population or area.

The Niger territories are governed by the Royal Niger Company, under a charter issued in 1886, though its formation dates from 1882, when it was formed under the title of the National African Company, Limited, with the object of obtaining those regions for Great Britain, which was done by means of about 300 treaties with native tribes and states, including the territories of Sokoto and Borgu. The capital of the Niger territories is Asaba. The total area of the company's territory and regions secured to its influence by agreements of various descriptions is about 500,000 square miles, with a population estimated at from 20,000,000 to 35,000,000.

The British West African colonies, four in number, include the Gold Coast, Lagos, Gambia and Sierra Leone.

The Gold Coast Colony stretches for 350 miles along the Gulf of Guinea; the chief towns are Accra and Cape Coast Castle; area about 15,000 square miles; population about 1,500,000.

Lagos is an island on the Slave Coast, to the east of the Gold Coast. Area 1,500 square miles; population about 100,000.

Gambia is at the mouth of the Gambia River. Area about 2,700 square miles; population 50,000.

Sierra Leone includes the Island of Sherboro and considerable adjoining territory. Area 15,000 square miles; population about 180,000.

Zululand is a British possession administered by the Governor of Natal, who is also Governor of Zululand. Area over 12,500 square miles; population about 170,000.

The ancient empire of Abyssinia, or Ethiopia, is independent. It has an area of about 150,000 square miles, and a population estimated to number 3,500,000.

Bornu, or the Land of Noah, is also independent. It is probably the largest and certainly the most populous Mohammedan state in Central Soudan. Its approximate area is 50,000 square miles, and the population is estimated at 5,000,000. The majority of the inhabitants call themselves the "People of Light." They are of mixed negro and Dasa descent. The Sultan, whose official title is Mai, but who is generally referred to as the Sheikh, is an absolute monarch.

The Sultanate of Wadai is the most powerful state in Central Sou-

dan. It occupies, with the tributary states, the region between Darfur and Lake Chad, and extends from the border of the Sahara southward, nearly to the divide between the Chad and the Congo basins. Total area, including Wadai and Bagirmi, about 172,000 square miles; population about 2,500,000. The Arabs, there collectively termed Aramka, have been settled in that part of Africa for over 500 years. The Sultan has absolute power, limited by custom and the precepts of the Koran.

The Egyptian Soudan covers 950,000 square miles, with a population of 10,500,000. Before the revolt of the Mahdi, in 1882, the Khedival possessions beyond Egypt proper comprised the whole of East Soudan and Nubia, between Wadai on the west and the Red Sea on the east, with the northwest section of Somaliland and the coast lands between Abyssinia and the Gulf of Aden, with a total area of 1,000,000 square miles and a population of about 12,000,000. It included the regions of Durfur, Kordofan, Lower Nubia, Upper Nubia, the Zeriba lands of the White Nile, and the Danakil, Adal and Somali lands about the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. It is estimated that three-fifths of the population of the Soudan have perished through war, famine and slave trading during the last seventeen years.

The British Central Africa Protectorate, constituted in 1891, lies along the southern and western shores of Lake Nyassa and extends toward the Zambesi. Population about 900,000; area not stated in the best reference books.

The principal colony of France in Africa is Algeria, consisting of three provinces—Algiers, Oran and Constantine, with a total area of 184,474 square miles and a population of about 4,500,000. The French Chambers alone have the right to legislate for Algeria.

In addition to Algeria, France has a Senegal colony, the French Soudan, and a Gaboon and Guinea Coast colony, with a total population for this group of 5,000,000 and an area of about 514,000 square miles.

In the Congo region France has 258,000 square miles and a population of 5,000,000; in Madagascar she has a valuable colony of 227,750 square miles, with 3,500,000 population, and on the Obock and Somali coast she has 46,320 square miles and a population of 200,000.

Besides these colonies in Africa, France has several African islands, including Reunion, the Comoro Islands, Mayotte, Nossi-Be and Sainte

Marie, giving her a total of 1,232,454 square miles of African territory, with a population of about 18,000,000.

Germany has big colonies in Africa, including Togaland, with an area of 23,160 square miles and a population of 2,500,000; the Cameroons, area 191,000 square miles, population 3,500,000; German Southwest Africa, area 320,000 square miles, population 200,000; and German East Africa, 380,000 square miles, population 4,000,000.

The dominion of Italy in Africa extends on the coast of the Red Sea, from Cape Kasar to the southern limit of the Sultanate of Raheita. Area about 88,500 square miles; population, nomadic, about 450,000.

Portugal in Africa has Portuguese East Africa, 261,700 square miles, population 1,500,000; Angola, Ambriz, Benguela, Mossamedes and Congo, 457,000 square miles; Portuguese Guinea, 14,000 square miles, 800,000 population, and the Cape Verde Islands, 1,650 square miles, and 110,930 population.

Spain has Rio del Oro and Adrar, 243,000 square miles and 100,000 population, and some small islands, which give her a total area in Africa of 243,877 square miles and a population of 136,000.

The Republic of Liberia, on the Guinea Coast of Africa, has a constitution modeled on that of the United States. It is governed by a President, Coleman, and the legislative power is in a parliament of two houses, called the Senate and House of Representatives. There are thirteen members of the Lower House and eight members of the Upper House. The President, who, with the House of Representatives, is elected for two years, must be thirty-five years of age and have real property to the value of \$600. The Senate is elected for four years.

Liberia has about 500 miles of coast line, extending back about 200 miles, on an average, with an area of about 14,360 square miles and a population, all colored, of about 1,070,000, of which number some 18,000 are American-Liberians. Monrovia, the capital, has about 5,000 population.

The Sultanate of Morocco has an area of about 220,000 square miles, with 2,500,000 to 9,000,000 population, as near as can be estimated.

The Sherifian (or Sultanate) umbrella is hereditary in the family of the Sherifs of Taflet. Each Sultan is supposed, prior to his death, to indicate the member of the Sherifian family who, according to his honest belief, will best replace him.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LAND OF EGYPT.

In hieroglyphics the name of Egypt is Kem, and its sense is "The Black Land."

The history of ancient Egypt dates from so far back that much of it is veiled in obscurity, in spite of the great progress made in scientific research.

The history of Egypt, however, is generally looked upon as beginning with what is known as the First Dynasty, that of Mena or Menes, the first earthly King of Egypt, the earlier reigns being mythological.

Egyptian mythology does not contain any allusion to the deluge, nor does it connect with the Mosaic narrative. Consequently, the Egyptian ideas of their prehistoric age are isolated, when compared with those of most other nations of remote civilization, which agree in at least some particulars with the Genesis. The duration of the prehistoric age in Egypt cannot be conjectured with any degree of accuracy, though it has been computed that a space of 3,000 to 5,000 years before the First Dynasty was sufficient for the development of the civilization attained at the time of the Fourth Dynasty.

The history of the Egyptians can be traced further back than that of any other nation. Their records, carved in stone, in clay, or written on leather or papyrus scrolls, have survived for thousands of years, thanks to the dryness of the air in that part of the world and the fact that the hot, dry sand of the desert hermetically sealed up anything buried beneath it. The inscriptions on monuments, etc., confirm the list of Kings and their dates prepared by the priest Manetho, who was employed by King Ptolemy II, B. C. 284-246, to translate the historical works preserved in the Egyptian temples. Manetho's history was lost, but the list of Kings was preserved and transmitted to us in part by Flavius Josephus, the Jewish historian, and partly by Christian historians. By this means the history of the Egyptians has been divided into the Primeval Monarchy, from, say 5000 B. C. to 2850 B. C.; the Middle Monarchy, from 1850 B. C. to about 1280 B. C.; the New Empire, from about 1280 B. C. to 525 B. C.; the Persian Dominion, 525 B. C. to 323 B. C.; the Period of the Ptolemies, from 323 B. C. to A. D. 27;

the Roman Period, from A. D. 27 to the year 395; the Byzantine Period, 395 to 638; the Mohammedan Period, 638 to 1798; the French Period, 1798 to 1803, and the period of the Khedives of Egypt.

Here, it may be said that this land of pyramids and ancient monuments, mummies and papyrus, highly attractive mythology and ancient traditions, is an immense mine of historical gems which we can now only glance at and pass on to the more vigorous events of modern history.

But, we may mention that Rameses II has been looked upon in some quarters as the greatest figure in the long line of Pharaohs. When he was but ten years old no monuments were executed without his orders, and it is concerning his character that the best idea can be formed. He must have lived about a hundred years and was a great warrior and held first place among the architect Pharaohs, many of the vast buildings found throughout Egypt and Nubia having been constructed under his supervision. He married three queens and seems to have had 23 sons and at least 13 daughters. In all he had 170 children, of whom 111 were sons and 59 daughters.

The Exodus took place at the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

With Alexander the Great, the Macedonian dominion began and lasted about 302 years. After having defeated Darius on the Granicus and at Issus and captured the Philistine town of Gaza, Alexander marched to Pelusium and was received by the Egyptians with open arms, who regarded him as their deliverer from the yoke of the Persians.

From A. D. 52 to A. D. 31 were the famous years of Pompey, Cleopatra, Caesar, Brutus, Cassius and Anthony, ending with the suicide of Anthony, following his defeat by Octavianus and after he had been declared by the Roman Senate to be an enemy of his country. Previous to this, as we all know, Anthony had spent years in gorgeous debauchery with the beautiful Egyptian Queen, who caused her own death by the bite of an asp after hearing of Anthony's suicide.

In A. D. 639 the Arabs conquered Egypt and, under its Mohammedan rulers, the country was completely changed. The Mamelukes, chiefly military slaves from the Caucasus, seized the country in 1250. They had grown into power through the favor of Sultan Saladin and were not subdued until 1517, when they were defeated by Sultan Selim. Their descendants, however, kept the country in a disturbed state for more than 200 years more and, in the first half of the eighteenth



THE PAARDEKRAAL MONUMENT.



THE BOER DEMONSTRATION AT THE PAARDEKRAAL MONUMENT.



KRONSTAD, SECOND IMPORTANT TOWN IN ORANGE FREE STATE.



A BOER AND HIS TEN SONS EQUIPPED FOR FIELD SERVICE.

century, when the Ottoman Empire was hard pressed by Russia and Austria, Egypt again fell under the sway of the Mamelukes, who continued in power until the French invasion of Egypt in 1798, under Napoleon Bonaparte, who hoped to destroy British trade in the Mediterranean. When the French capitulated at Cairo and Alexandria to the British, their evacuation of Egypt followed, and Mohammed Alee (or Ali) Bey, the Turkish commander, or Pasha of Egypt, put an effectual damper on the Mamelukes by murdering all their leaders. Finally Mohammed became so powerful that he defied the Turkish Government and, on the plains of Nizeeb in Syria, gained such a decisive victory over the Turks that he obtained a treaty confirming to Mohammed Alee the Viceroyalty of Egypt, as a fief of the Ottoman Empire, hereditary in his family.

Ismail Pasha, the fourth successor of Mohammed Alee, was educated in France and did much to found manufactories, and build canals, railroads, bridges and telegraphs in Egypt. But, he was extravagant and unscrupulous, and the powers finally deposed him, June 26, 1879, after providing a joint administration of the country. Ismail was succeeded by his son Tewfik.

While at the height of his power, Ismail, on the payment of a large sum of money to the Sultan of Turkey, was raised to the rank of Khedive, or Viceroy, having up to that time only borne the title of Vali, or Governor of a Province.

The Suez Canal was cut and opened during the reign of Ismail.

The rebellion of Arabi Pacha in 1881 against the Egyptian Government led to the bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet, July 11 and 12, 1881, the landing of a British army of occupation and the subsequent virtual control of Egypt by a British High Commissioner.

During the fall of 1883 an extensive rebellion broke out among the Nubian tribes of the Soudan, under the leadership of Mohammed Ahmed, known as the Mahdi, or Prophet. An Egyptian force of about 10,000 men, under a British officer, General Hicks, was annihilated in November of that year by the Dervishes, or fanatical followers of the Mahdi and a second force of 3,500 men, led by General Baker, was utterly destroyed in February, 1884, by the forces of the Mahdi.

On February 18, 1884, General "Chinese" Gordon, one of the most gallant and distinguished officers in the British Army, after a perilous ride across the desert, reached Khartoum, capital of the Soudan,

intending to save the place from falling into the hands of the Mahdi. There he was besieged by the Dervish forces.

The British troops under General Graham defeated the Dervishes, March 1 and March 13, at El-Teb and Tammanieb. But, as the Mahdi continued the siege of Khartoum, after much apparently unnecessary political discussion, a relief force of 7,000 British troops, under General Wolseley, was sent up the Nile in an attempt to relieve General Gordon. The progress made was very slow and it was not until the beginning of 1885 that Wolseley was able to concentrate his forces at Korti, between the third and fourth cataracts, where the Nile makes a big bend. From that point Wolseley sent a flying column of 1,500 men to cross the desert to open communication with Khartoum from Shendy, while the main body continued the ascent of the Nile. The flying column, under General Stewart, crossed the desert in safety, winning victories over the Dervishes at Abu Klea and Metemmeh, where Stewart was mortally wounded.

On January 24 a small British detachment, under General Sir Charles Wilson, left Gubat, on the Nile, on board two steamers sent to them by General Gordon, but they reached Khartoum, January 28, only to find that the place had fallen, through treachery, January 26, and that Gordon had been killed in the fighting which accompanied the entrance of the Mahdi's troops into Khartoum.

The Mahdi died, in due course of time, and was succeeded by the Khalifa, who caused so much trouble that an Anglo-Egyptian expedition of about 25,000 men was sent in 1897 to destroy his armed camp at Omdurman, near Khartoum. After most successfully building a railroad to a point near Berber, General Kitchener's force, after several minor victories, attacked the Dervishes, who numbered about 30,000, near Omdurman, September 2, 1898. The British lost about 200 men, while several thousand, some reports said 8,000, Dervishes were killed or wounded.

There was another battle, November 23, 1899, between the Anglo-Egyptian forces, under General Wingate, and the Dervishes, in which the latter were utterly defeated with great slaughter, among the killed being the Khalifa Abdullah, the successor of the famous Mahdi, and nearly all his Emirs. Osman Digna, the great Dervish general, however, succeeded in escaping.

The present Khedive, or sovereign of Egypt, is the seventh ruler

of the dynasty of Mohammed Alee, or Ali. His name is Abbas Hilmi, and, when, recently, he showed signs of breaking away from the British leading strings, it was proposed to depose him and make his brother, Mohammed Ali, a great admirer of a Philadelphia heiress, his successor.

Egypt, which is administered by native ministers, who are subject to the ruling of the Khedive, has a total area of about 400,000 square miles, but the cultivated area only covers about 13,000 square miles. The population is about 7,000,000, largely Arabic and Mohammedan, with about 100,000 Europeans.

The Egyptian Soudan has an area of about 950,000 square miles and some years ago its population was estimated at about 10,000,000. Khartoum, until recently the nominal Dervish capital, is now occupied by British troops and it looks very much as if Egypt and the Egyptian Soudan were regarded in some quarters as part of the British Empire.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CONGO FREE STATE.

The Congo Independent State, having an area of 900,000 square miles and a population of about 30,000,000 souls, is the successor of the Congo International Association, founded in 1883, by King Leopold of Belgium. The Association, having obtained the recognition of its sovereignty by treaties, in 1884 and 1885, with most of the European nations and the United States, adhered, February 26, 1885, to the resolutions of the Congress of Berlin, which, collected in a general act, established freedom of trade in the basin of the Congo, its tributaries and the lakes and canals connected with it. The resolution also lay down rules for the protection of the natives and the suppression of the slave trade, and imposed on the framers which signed the act the obligation to accept the mediation of one or more friendly governments should any serious dispute occur concerning the territories of the conventional basin of the Congo. In 1890 an international conference at Brussels authorized the Government of the Independent State to levy certain duties on imports. The State was placed under the sovereignty of King Leopold on the basis of a personal union with Belgium, but it has declared itself perpetually neutral in accordance with the general act of Berlin. The King of Belgium, by a will dated August 2, 1889, bequeathed to Belgium all his sovereign rights in the State; the territories of the State, July 31, 1890, were declared inalienable, and, by a convention, July 3, 1890, between Belgium and the Independent State, reserved to Belgium the right of annexing the latter after a period of ten years.

The central government of the Independent State is at Brussels, and consists of King Leopold and, under his orders, a Secretary of State, who is chief of the Departments of Foreign Affairs, Finance and the Interior. The King is represented at Boma, capital of the Independent State, by a Governor General, who administers the territories of the State in accordance with the King's orders. The territory is divided into fifteen administrative districts, Banana, Boma, Matadi, The Falls, Stanley Pool, Kwango, Oriental, Kassai, Lake Leopold II, Bangala, Equator, Ubangi, Welle, Stanley Falls, Aruwimi and Lulaba.

The inhabitants of the Independent State are of Bantu origin, and their languages comprise many dialects, almost every tribe having its own. The language spoken by the natives who have been under Arab influence is Kiswahili, which is also spoken by the missionaries. The religion of the natives may be described as fetichism of the blackest description, but the missionaries are making progress. There are now about seventy mission stations with some 230 missionaries, of whom 115 are Catholic and 108 Protestant. There are three agricultural colonies where children are collected and instructed, the missionaries co-operating with the Government in the work of education.

The revenue of the State is estimated at about \$3,000,000 to \$3,500,000, and the expenditures a little less. This revenue is derived from customs, postage, state forests, transport and from a subsidy of \$200,000 per annum granted by King Leopold from an advance of money by the Belgium Government, in 1890, for a term of ten years, at the rate of \$400,000 a year.

The State has an armed force, under the command of Baron Dhanis, and there is more or less trouble in progress at all times. This force consists of about 16,000 men, divided into 23 companies and has 234 European officers. There are six camps of instruction for the soldiery.

The lands are divided into three classes: those occupied by natives, registered lands, comprising private estates of non-natives, and the crown lands, which include all vacant lands. The chief products are rubber, ivory, palm nuts and palm oil. Coffee grows freely, but it is not exported, owing to the difficulties of transport. Tobacco is also grown, but is not exported. The Government has established plantations of Havana and Sumatra tobacco.

There has been a rapid expansion of the commerce of the Independent State. The special exports in 1887 only amounted to about \$200,000, but in 1892 they had reached about \$1,100,000, and in 1897 they footed up about \$4,400,000.

The chief imports were arms and ammunition, machinery, metals, drinks, food substances and tissues and clothing. Belgium has the great bulk of this trade, with Great Britain second.

There were 201 vessels, of 342,809 tons in all, entered at the ports of Boma and Banana, on the Congo, in 1897. The river is navigable

for about 100 miles from its mouth to Matadi. On this section six State steamers are engaged in transportation service.

There is a railroad about 250 miles long, running at about twenty miles south of the river, connecting Matadi with Stanley Pool. A public transport service, employing twenty-two steamers, has been organized on the Upper Congo by the Government.

In 1895 the hanging of an English missionary trader, Charles Stokes, convicted of selling arms to the natives, by Belgium officials in the Independent State, nearly led to trouble between Great Britain and Belgium, but the British Government was satisfied with an indemnity and a second trial by court-martial of the official implicated, Captain (afterwards Major) Lothaire. He was twice acquitted of the charge, once at Boma and the second time at Brussels, to which city he had been recalled.

In referring to Blue-books since 1890, it will be seen that Captain Lugard, commander of the forces of the Royal Niger Company, had several quasi-friendly encounters with Mr. Stokes with reference to the disposal of arms and ammunition, those, however, taking place before this trade was prohibited by the Brussels treaty. Captain Lugard succeeded at various times in obtaining possession of large quantities of arms and ammunition imported by Mr. Stokes, and destined, doubtless, for disposal among the natives. The consequence of this, Mr. Stokes gave a voluntary undertaking to discontinue the importation of arms and ammunition, at the same time warmly denying and refuting the charge of smuggling this material.

On the other hand, statements existed in Mr. Stokes' own handwriting, in which he offered to the commanders of European stations immense quantities of arms and ammunition, particularly powder and Snider cartridges, packed in sardine boxes. Mr. Stokes married a Nyamezi woman, of the Wanyamezi tribe, by whom he had several children. She was the daughter of a powerful chief, and to this fact Mr. Stokes unquestionably owed much of his great influence among the natives.

It was said at the time that Dr. Michaux, attached to the Lothaire mission, protested strongly against the execution of Mr. Stokes. But, that did not even postpone the hanging, which was described as follows:

"Towards four o'clock in the morning of the day the lay missionary

was executed, Dr. Michaux rose and begged Lothaire to tell him where the prisoner was, in order that he might speak with him. Major Lothaire thereupon led the doctor outside his tent and showed him Stokes' dead body swinging from a bamboo-top. Dr. Michaux at once expressed his strong disapproval of what had been done, and demanded to be conducted back to Stanley Pool, stating that he would not remain a minute longer with the expedition. Major Lothaire granted the doctor an escort to Stanley Falls."

The spectacle of an execution of a slave by the natives years ago in the Congo territory was really terrible. Demoniactal evolutions and dances took place for hours around the condemned slave, who sat bound and helpless in the midst of a circle of bloodthirsty aborigines.

The victim was tied hands and arms with strong hemp to a roughly improvised chair, while his feet were bound to a stake in the ground a few feet before him. A stout bough stripped of leaves was held bent by a strong rope from a notch in the middle to a stake a few feet behind the condemned man's chair. Another rope suspended from the end of the bough was so adjusted around the victim's neck that when the bough was allowed to spring back to its natural position the head was torn off and hurled far away into the jungle. Then occurred the most ghastly scene of all—the scrambling for the finding of the head. The finder kept his trophy for several days and then cooked it. The brain was considered the greatest delicacy and was generally given to the chief of the tribe.

The tribes of the Bangala race believed that the more frightfully their victims were tortured the more tender it made their flesh, and consequently more palatable. It was shown that many of the slave-traders kept stocks of prisoners on hand and fattened them for slaughter.

According to Captain S. H. Hinde, who was one of Baron Dahnis' force on the Congo, there were 20,000,000 people in the Congo Basin who were eaters of human flesh. Though the Belgians have enacted laws against cannibalism, and some of the chiefs have been hanged, there seems little hope of entirely changing these deplorable conditions for some time to come.

In addition to this custom of eating human beings, another equally horrible existed, according to Captain Hinde's report. When a chief of any of these Congo tribes died, all his wives were buried with him.

A hole was dug in the ground, almost as large as an ordinary room, and in the middle of it the body of the chief was placed. One of the wives jumped down and seated herself at the head of the corpse, another wife squatted at the feet. Others sat around at the sides. If there was any room left, some slaves were brought in and made the outer fringe of the circle. Neither the wives nor the slaves manifested the slightest concern, but accepted their fate entirely as a matter of course.

How far the Belgians have gone in the work of correcting this state of affairs is a matter of conjecture.



CHAPTER XX.

THE CARAVANS OF THE DESERT.

The writer spent some years among the Arabs and learned to admire greatly the Ship of the Desert, or the gentle, submissive camel. Nothing can be more lamb-like than the behavior of these large, soft-eyed beasts of burden, who seem to exist only for the purpose of suffering as much as possible in the cause of heartless mankind. Without the camel and the horse, especially the former, the Arab would be lost and much of Africa now in a semi-state of civilization would be still plunged in the sleep of ages. First experiences on camel-back are not pleasant, as a rule; the jerky lifting, then squatting back motion which the camel imparts to you is likely to produce a feeling of sea-sickness on your part, unless you are well fortified against such weakness. In long strings, sometimes extending for miles, camels are loaded with goods, and wind over the parched desert, without requiring water for very long periods.

Caravan is a Persian word (Karawan), though Rikb (assembled riders) or Kafleh (wayfaring band), are the terms used in Arabia proper. According to the general acceptance of the term, a caravan consists of a party of merchants, salesmen, explorers or others who band together for their protection and travel long distances in company, the main object of such a gathering of interests being the hiring of an escort or guard of some sort to protect the travelers against the robbers who prey upon caravans when not confronted by superior force. Then, again, people who have had to travel over the deserts had to carry large quantities of supplies, tents, etc., with them, for there are no roads, much less hotels or other such accommodations, to be met with. Coffee houses and stores can be found in the small towns scattered here and there, long distances apart, but the caravan traveler depends upon himself and his companions. On arriving at a town a camp is formed outside the walls and then, after due preparation in the matter of dress, etc., the merchant rides in and attends to business. He may take some of the local merchants back with him and display his goods outside his tent, or he may take samples with him. Trading of this order has been generally of the give and take nature. That is to say,

the merchant from the coast takes with him the class of goods needed by the traders or others of the interior and they make an exchange, the traveling merchant taking back camel loads of ivory, dates, palm-oil, anything, in short, procurable, which he sells at the nearest point of shipment, and then begins over again.

The leading camel of a caravan is generally gaily decorated with brilliant-colored trappings, many tassels and bells, and is, for luck or guidance, preceded by an unladen ass.

When the route followed is rocky and steep, mules or asses are used in preference to camels. The wealthier of the party ride horses, while the servants and others foot it, under the shade of the camels, if possible.

When a merchant or chief travels with his family across the desert, the women and children are comfortably ensconced in howdahs, or silk-hooded little apartments, or nests, screened from the sun by fine netting, and provided with all kinds of luxuries. Even camel traveling can be made almost pleasant by such means. The number of camels or mules in a single caravan varies from a dozen or so up to 500, or even a thousand in the case of re-opening long-closed routes.

The organizers of caravans make their plans according to the seasons, and so do the wild Bedouins who attack them, if possible. The hottest and driest months are avoided, and so are the winters, in some parts, when severely cold weather may be encountered. According to a recommendation of the Koran, Friday is the best day for starting a caravan. Each day's route is divided into two stages, the first from about 3 or 4 A. M. to 10 A. M., when there is a halt, and the second from about 2 or 3 P. M. to 6 or 8 P. M., or until some camping place previously decided upon is reached. At an average pace, a laden camel will travel about two miles an hour, but there are riding camels which travel much faster. The British, in Egypt, have a trained camel corps of mounted infantry, which has done fine service against the Dervishes of the Soudan. As a rule, the Caravan-Bashi, or leader of the escort, decides the time of the departures, halts and arrivals at certain places of caravans. But such matters are in some cases settled by mutual consultation, after which the Caravan-Bashi may be called upon to give his advice. In cases where a detachment of regular troops forms the escort of a caravan, the officer in command is generally allowed to direct its movements. While a caravan is traveling the five stated daily prayers

of the orthodox Mohammedan are anticipated or curtailed. Two caravans are mentioned in Genesis, Chapter XXXVII, and the route they were traveling over seems to have been what now coincides with the route followed by the Syrian caravans on their way to Egypt.

In some parts of the more civilized portions of the North African world there are caravan-serai, or public buildings, for the shelter of caravans and travelers generally. They are usually built outside the walls of the towns and bear the form of a quadrangle, with a dead wall outside. Inside are cloister-like arcades, surrounded by storerooms resembling cells. There are also a number of living-rooms for those who can afford to pay the small gratuity which the guard of the caravan-serai expects, but which the municipality, which employs them, does not allow them to demand. Only water and shelter are provided at the caravan-serai. Provender and food must be obtained elsewhere if needed. But he who travels in the desert takes with him everything necessary to sustain and defend life.


CHAPTER XXI.

AN ARAB ATHLETIC MEETING.

Perhaps, in the midst of so much historical matter, the writer may be pardoned if, before leaving the subject of North Africa, he reproduces a personal narrative of an experience in Algeria, written when he was very much younger.

The writer was staying, some twenty-seven years ago, at Palikao, Algeria, a small colony in every sense, situated about twenty miles from Mascara. It boasted of a caravan-serai, eight houses, no streets, and a wash house, this latter building being by far the most important structure of the place. It consisted of a large stone tank, twelve feet square and three deep. It was covered with a wooden roof, supported by four posts. The sides of the tank sloped down, to enable the inhabitants to wash their clothes thereon. It was generally surrounded by half a dozen dirty Arabian women, two or three German fraus, and half a dozen dilapidated French soldiers, who were stationed there to promote colonization, by helping the poor refugees from Alsace and Lorraine.

He had formed the acquaintance of the son of the Caid of an Arabian governor and judge, appointed by the "Bureau Arabe," to control the affairs of that district. By him the writer was invited to attend the great annual fete of the district. He mounted his horse and set out from the caravan-serai at about six o'clock one fine morning, and, under the guidance of a wounded Arab sent by his friend, the Caid's son, set out for the place of meeting. A rifle was slung across the writer's back and a brace of revolvers were in his holsters. But these precautions were needless, for the Arab had brought him a hat to protect his head from the sun, and all Arabs who saw him after he had put it on, bowed themselves in respect before him. It was a very broad-brimmed straw hat with a tremendously high crown, decorated with some curious insignia. A strap passed under the chin so that at will it could be thrown off, and it would lie on his back something after the fashion of a knapsack. One unlucky wretch, not happening to notice his head dress, was set upon by the conductor and unmercifully beaten, with a "mattrack," or stick, before the writer could interfere. As they neared



the place of meeting, he noticed thousands of white bedizened Arabs flocking like sheep on the hillocks around the Caid's house, some on foot, some on donkeys, some on horseback; others on camels and others on dromedaries. The women were all, as usual, muffled up to the eyes, and seated cross-legged on their various steeds, soft, downy cushions, or dirty rags, according to the wealth of their lords and masters, protecting them from too close a contact with the back of the animals.

Bright, flashing, dark eyes sparkled like stars from the only small opening in their face-covering that they were allowed to have to prevent them from suffocation. The Caid's tent was pitched in a little valley between two sand hills, close to his own house. This last structure was of a rather curious form; it was quite square, and had but one inlet or outlet and that was the grand entrance. It was built of stone, and had a flat roof. All the windows gave into a court-yard in the interior of the building. The kitchen was a building separated from the main structure and, by the noise and bustle that surrounded it, must have been in a high state of activity on that particular day. As the writer neared the building, the crowd opened and made way for his young friend. He was a tall, noble-looking fellow, and mounted on a splendid steed. As he was now, he looked the very personification of the noble Arab. He was about twenty-five years of age, and his flashing dark eyes sparkled with joy. Hastily dismounting, he hurried forward to meet the writer and pressing his hand he said:

"Welcome, my brother; welcome amongst the Children of the Desert."

After a few words of inquiry as to his health he led him towards a line of splendid silk tents, surrounded by hundreds of others of commoner make. They were of all sizes and shapes; some round, others square, oblong, conical, semi-conical, bell-shaped, egg-shaped, and mushroom-shaped. This last-named shape was used only by the lower classes, and instead of being made of silk, canvas, or canvas lined with silk, as the richer ones generally were, they were made of camel's hair. These last tents were by far the most numerous, and their curious yellow and black patterns contrasted prettily with the gorgeous tents of the chiefs.

The scene was worthy the pencil of the greatest artist. The day was beautiful, the sun falling in a graceful caress on the many-tinted

the feints, dodges, ruses, attacks, parries and blows tried by each man.

Sidi informed the writer that they belonged to two rival tribes, hence the interest that was taken in the fight. The crowd was mad with excitement. Guttural cheers rang on all sides, and several free fights took place between the friends of the antagonists. At last, one of the combatants, having received a fine kick at the back of his head, the other was declared winner. The next item on the programme was a fight with sticks, commonly called "mattracks." Then there was an interesting wrestling match, the combatants being naked and well greased with fat and oil. A square fall was declared when the loser had struck the ground.

Then the important part began. All the young chiefs mounted their horses and withdrew about three hundred yards from the grand stand, with their loaded rifles slung on their backs. At a word they sprang away, spurring their horses with fury and shouting horribly. As the winner of the race arrived at the post, i. e., the grand stand, with a lightning-like movement he unslung his rifle with one hand, and holding it at arm's length, fired a shot in the air. The rest followed in succession, and by the time the whole band had arrived before the stand, such a cloud of dust encircled the riders that it was hardly possible to distinguish one from the other.

Sidi then challenged the writer to a race. A horse was brought to the Arab chief, and another was provided for the visitor, who expressed astonishment at its not being his own, whereupon the Arab who brought the animal informed the visitor that the "Great Marabout" had lent him his horse to compete with Sidi Mahomet. The two riders were joined by some of the leading chiefs, who also wished to have a trial of skill with Sidi. The horse lent the visitor was a splendid thoroughbred, black as jet, and full of fire. At the start he got it away to the front at the first bound and kept the lead. Within a short distance of the post, the writer unslung his rifle and fired in the air, the shot from Sidi's rifle following his, probably out of courtesy, within half a second, the two horses at the time nearly touching each other.

The party returned to Sidi's tent and sat down to a good meal. It consisted of "kous-kous," that is to say, a mixture of mutton, venison, partridge and rice, the whole stewed together with herbs, and seasoned with spice. It was very good, and sitting cross-legged on mats all present made an excellent repast.



GEN. SIR REDVERS HENRY BULLER, COMMANDING BRITISH FORCES IN SOUTH AFRICA.



GEN. SIR GEORGE WHITE, COMMANDING BRITISH FORCES AT LADYSMITH.



BRITISH PARADE OUTSIDE OF MAFEKING.



A NATIVE CHURCH IN MAFEKING.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE BREWING OF TROUBLE.

The British have made many complaints against the Boers, and, possibly, some of them were well founded. For instance, the British claim the Boers have repeatedly raided their territory, and they point to the fact that between 1881 and 1885 the Boers made two most determined raids, one of which succeeded, while the other failed; and they say that a third was only stopped by the determined action of Dr. Jameson. This was in connection with the Adendorff concession, and some excitement prevailed both in South Africa and in England as to the possible consequences. A large party of Boers was organized under the leadership of Colonel Ferreira with a view to occupying part of Mashonaland in June, 1891. Lord Loch, at that time Sir Henry, promptly issued a proclamation announcing that any attempt to occupy Banyailand would be regarded as an infringement of the rights of the chartered company. He also sent a sharp dispatch to President Kruger, who replied that he had "damped" the trek, and he certainly issued a proclamation forbidding any Transvaal burgher to take part in the movement. But a large armed party of Boers went northward to the banks of the Limpopo, which they attempted to cross, but they were stopped by a small body of the British South Africa Company's Police, and Dr. Jameson persuaded them to return without any fighting.

In the early part of 1882, profiting by the disturbed state of the country, certain Boers had leased farms from Chief Oham, on condition that they should help to prevent incursions into his territory. These Boers had invited others, and their number greatly increased. This was contrary to the Convention of Pretoria, which had contained the agreement that the Boers were not to extend their territories east of thirty degrees east longitude.

The following is a sketch of events in Zululand during 1884: In May the Boers proclaimed Dinizulu king of Zululand, and in return they received from him large tracts of land, which they proclaimed an independent state, under the title of the New Republic. As the imperial authorities found that the Boers from the New Republic were gradually annexing the whole of Zululand, the British flag was hoisted at

St. Lucia Bay December 21, 1884. Next year further steps were taken. Then, as now, desirous of reaching the sea, the Boers, both of the South African Republic and of the New Republic, laid claims to St. Lucia Bay; these claims, however, the British Government refused to admit. Reinforced by fresh arrivals from the Transvaal, the Boers of the Republic gradually extended their boundaries until, by the end of 1885, they included about three-fourths of Zululand. Dinizulu tried to repudiate his agreement, but the Boers showed him that with them possession was all the law.

While matters were thus proceeding at the east of the Transvaal, there were also continual disorders on the western border. Immediately after the retrocession of the Transvaal marauding began. Two Transvaal chiefs and two under the protection of Great Britain were at war with one another, and under pretext of helping the various chiefs, a body of Boers established themselves in the country, driving out the lawful owners, and establishing two independent Dutch republics, known as Stellaland and Goshen. A correspondent of Sir Bartle Frere stated that a Transvaal official equipped six burghers on their promising to give him half the cattle they captured, and they were to return horse, saddle and gun to him. Cattle known to have been raided were publicly sold in the Transvaal, and yet the Transvaal Government denied having anything to do with the raids, though they admitted that they could not restrain their own people. Adrian de la Rey and Gert van Niekerk were masters of the situation for a time. On September 10, 1884, President Kruger issued a proclamation which, "in the interests of humanity, proclaimed and ordained" the contending chiefs, Moshette and Montsioa, to be under the protection of the South African Republic. But this proclamation was withdrawn at a word from the High Commissioner, and Sir Charles Warren's expedition sent to occupy the country. Meanwhile, the Cape Ministry treated with the freebooters, and made a provisional agreement for the annexation of Goshen to the Cape Colony. But the Imperial Government refused its sanction, because the terms proposed were "equivalent to recognition, as a de facto government, of freebooters who had made war on the British Protectorate, and to acknowledgment of the bona fide character of the claims of the brigands to land in Montsioa's territory." Accordingly, Sir Charles Warren's expedition was hastened, and the terms of his commission were "to remove the filibusters from Bechuan-

aland, to pacificate the country, to reinstate the natives in their land, and to take such measures as were necessary to prevent further depredation, and, finally, to hold the country until its further destination was known."

The three leaders in these events were Lucas Meyer, Gert van Niekerk, and Groot Adrian de la Rey. Lucas Meyer is now a member of the First Volksraad of the South African Republic and a strong Progressive, in favor of dual language in government offices. Gert van Niekerk died recently, and was accorded a public funeral, with military honors, being Chief Commissioner of Police at the time of his death, while Groot Adrian de la Rey publicly stated his readiness to start raiding again at the head of 2,000 Boers.

From the earliest times the Outlanders, especially the British of the Transvaal, have had grievances against the Transvaal, and some of them appear to have been well-founded. But the grievances themselves might have been settled amicably, in due course of time, had it not been for the fact that the great wire-pullers of South Africa and their friends and supporters, associates and others seem to have taken advantage of this state of affairs to attempt the accomplishment of objects they had long held in view, namely, making Great Britain, or the British South Africa Company, paramount beyond dispute, with the possibility, in the distant future, of absorbing the rest of Africa, or, at least, the best portion of it.

However, it is not the province here to draw conclusions. It is for the great American people to do that. We simply try to present without bias all the main facts in the case.

The Transvaal Outlanders, especially those of Johannesburg, have for many years been complaining that they have been unfairly taxed without representation, pointing out that though they constituted the majority of the population of the South African Republic, owning more than half the land and at least nine-tenths of the property, yet, in all matters affecting their lives, liberties and properties they had no voice. The Outlanders also charged the Transvaal administration with gross extravagance, bribery and corruption and with intense hostility to the English. The last charge is proved beyond a doubt, and the others have been supported by unprejudiced Americans.

Matters grew worse and worse as passion on both sides became more heated. Early in December, 1895, the situation at Johannesburg was

threatening, and there were persistent rumors that the miners were secretly arming and that warlike preparations were being made. Owing to these rumors the women and children were leaving the Raad, and General Joubert, commander-in-chief of the Transvaal forces, had been summoned to Pretoria from Natal.

The American and German residents in the Transvaal, it was added, sided with the Government.

The London Times' correspondent in Paris, the next day, quoted the *Journal des Debats*, a semi-official organ, as arguing upon the danger to French interests of allowing Great Britain to seize the Transvaal; and the action of the Outlanders, according to a dispatch from Berlin, gave rise to an unusually violent explosion of anti-British feeling in the German press.

"Germany, Portugal and possibly France," said the *Berlin National Zeitung*, "cannot allow the Boer republics to become the exclusive prey of England, and especially of such a dangerous personage as Mr. Cecil Rhodes." Other German papers expressed similar sentiments, saying it could not be denied that, while the relations between the British and German governments were in no way cordial, a widespread feeling of animosity against Great Britain existed in Germany.

The London Times, December 9, 1895, in a long article, explaining the Transvaal trouble, said:

"Equality of representation with taxation, language, law, responsibility of the administration to the legislature, and the removal of religious disabilities are among the chief of the Outlanders' demands, while they agree to maintain republican institutions."

The Times also complained, editorially, that the French and German press criticised Great Britain without "properly grasping the history or geography of the question," and declared that it believed that no desperate remedy, such as an appeal to force, would be required, and that some reasonable concessions, even though not all that the Outlanders might rightfully claim, might avail to postpone a conflict."

By December 30, 1895, the political crisis at Johannesburg had reached a most acute stage. The exodus of women and children was increasing, all trains leaving the place being crowded; the prices of foodstuffs had become high, while the Government had notified the burghers to be ready for active service in case of an emergency. The Mercantile Association had formed itself into a town guard to preserve



VEREENIGING, FIRST STATION IN THE TRANSVAAL FROM CAPE TOWN.



MARKET STREET IN SOUTH PRETORIA.



LIEUT.-GEN. SIR GEORGE WHITE, COMMANDER OF BRITISH FORCES IN NATAL.

order and protect life and property, and had asked the Government for arms and ammunition, pledging itself not to take part in a revolution or riot. It was expected that several of the leading mines would close down immediately.

In the course of an interview, President Kruger, at the time, expressed regret at the agitation, and said:

"If the situation is aggravated, many disastrous consequences are to be feared, especially in mining and commercial enterprises. The present attitude of the Outlanders does not conduce to calm consideration of their alleged grievances. The Government will give them an opportunity for such free speech on their grievances as does not incite to rebellion, but the Government is fully prepared to stop any movement aiming at a disturbance of law and order."

Professor James Bryce, M. P., author of "The American Commonwealth," who had at that time just returned to London from South Africa, said, in response to a request for his views upon the situation in the Transvaal:

"There is a pretty widespread feeling of dissatisfaction with the existing condition of affairs in the Transvaal. Much will depend on President Kruger's attitude. It is hoped that the Transvaal Government will recognize that the situation is, or may become, serious. The population of Outlanders is increasing rapidly."

The feature of business on the London Stock Exchange on December 30 was the weakness of South African securities, due to the situation in the Transvaal, the prices of "Kaffirs" declining steadily.

"It is a curious anomaly," wrote Major Ricarde-Seaver, in December, 1895, "to see, at the end of the nineteenth century, a minority of 15,000 burghers, all told, ruling a majority of 60,000 enlightened, wealthy and prosperous aliens, who, although they possess the richest and most valuable portion of the country, have no voice in its management. The franchise must be extended to all qualifying for citizenship, and when this is done, the Outlanders, as a class, will cease to exist. They will become citizens and the control of the state will pass into the hands of the majority, or, in other words, the Anglo-Saxon race."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE JAMESON RAID AND THE UNDOING OF DR. "JIM."

A cable message was received at Berlin, December 31, 1895, from Pretoria, Transvaal, which stated that an armed force of the British South Africa Company, numbering 700 men, with six Maxim guns and other pieces of artillery, was reported to have invaded the Transvaal territory.

The dispatch from Pretoria further said that the British force had already reached the vicinity of Rustenberg and was advancing upon Johannesburg.

On learning of the news President Kruger ordered that the further advance of the invaders should be prevented by force of arms, and issued a proclamation calling upon all burghers to defend the country.

This, the first news of the famous Jameson raid, caused a thrill of excitement throughout the civilized world, and the feeling was intensified January 1, 1896, when a dispatch was received from Cape Town, reading:

"In consequence of a letter signed by the leading inhabitants of Johannesburg, which was sent to Dr. Jameson, at Mafeking, Saturday, Dr. Jameson, on Sunday, crossed the Transvaal frontier near Mafeking with 700 men. It is known that he passed Malmani at 5 o'clock on Monday morning."

The letter to Dr. Jameson was dated December 28, and said:

"Matters in this state have become so critical that we are assured that at no distant period there will be a conflict between the Government and the Outlander population. The position of thousands of Englishmen and of others is rapidly becoming intolerable."

The letter then proceeded to complain that the Transvaal Government virtually compelled the Outlanders to pay the whole revenue of the country, while denying them representation, adding:

"The internal policy of the Government has incensed not only the Outlanders, but a large number of Boers, while its external policy has exasperated the neighboring states to the extent of endangering the peace and independence and the preservation of the republic.

"We must consider what must be the condition of things in the

event of an armed conflict. Thousands of unarmed men, women and children of our race will be at the mercy of the well-armed Boers, while property of enormous value will be in the greatest peril. We all feel that we are justified in taking any steps to prevent the shedding of blood and to insure the protection of our rights."

The London Times, in an editorial, January 1, 1896, said:

"Mr. Chamberlain's action indicates that no adequate justifications exist for Dr. Jameson's apparent breach of the law of nations. It was known in official circles yesterday (December 31, 1895) that in the course of the day Mr. Chamberlain had wired Dr. Jameson, ordering him to return without delay to the company's territory. The adoption of this course manifestly places a serious responsibility upon the shoulders of the Colonial Office. It is believed that the Boer forces have been mobilized under General Joubert, and that an explosion is possible at any moment.

"Mr. Chamberlain is believed to have addressed himself to President Kruger as clearly and as firmly as to Dr. Jameson. He called upon the Boer leader to do his utmost to prevent hostilities, and has offered Great Britain's aid to promote a peaceful settlement.

"If no rising has occurred, Mr. Chamberlain's attitude will commend universal approval; but if British blood has been shed which might have been saved, it is inevitable that some part of the blame, however unjustly, should attach to his intervention.

"President Kruger would do well to accept the British offer of mediation, but it is rumored that he had been ill-advised enough to resort to a measure of a very different kind. He is said to have been so far forgetful of the position of the Transvaal as subject to the suzerainty of Great Britain as to appeal to the French and German consuls for support. Conduct of that kind betrays a remarkable ignorance of the rights of this country over Transvaal and of her resolution to enforce them. Whatever else we may tolerate at the hands of the Boers, we will not endure foreign intervention in any shape within the Transvaal, nor suffer the Transvaal to fall in anarchy."

A member of the German diplomatic service in Berlin said, December 31, 1895, that Emperor William showed a lively dislike to the machinations of the British in the Transvaal, but his Majesty would decline to undertake a protectorate over the republic, as he considered the crisis a matter of internal politics. He, however, had promised his

moral support, and had indicated that he might even take "certain measures" if Great Britain persisted in her course.

Later it was announced that the cable message sent by Mr. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, to Dr. Jameson, administrator of the British South Africa Company, ordering the return of the force of armed men which Dr. Jameson led into the Transvaal, could not reach him "until he arrived at Johannesburg," at which place, it was explained, there were arms enough to equip thirty thousand men.

Then Mr. Chamberlain issued an official statement that he was in communication with President Kruger in an endeavor to avert serious consequences of the "unauthorized and altogether unjustifiable act" of Dr. Jameson.

Governor Robinson, of Cape Colony, issued a proclamation publicly repudiating the act of Dr. Jameson, and caused to be published in the newspapers of Pretoria and Johannesburg an injunction, in the name of the Queen, to all her Majesty's subjects in the Transvaal not to give aid to Dr. Jameson, but to "obey the law and observe order."

Messengers were sent to overtake Jameson, conveying orders to him and every officer accompanying him to retire from the Transvaal territory immediately.

But the situation was aggravated by the fact that Dr. Jameson cut the wires behind him, rendering telegraphic communication with his force impossible.

Mr. Chamberlain next sent a dispatch to the British South Africa Company, asking them to repudiate Dr. Jameson and his acts. To this the company replied that they were entirely ignorant of Dr. Jameson's acts or purposes.

Cecil Rhodes, then Prime Minister of Cape Colony, in connection with this reply, said that Dr. Jameson had acted without authority, adding that he, Mr. Rhodes, had tried to stop Dr. Jameson when he learned that he had gone into the Transvaal, but found that the wires had been cut and that, consequently, he could not communicate with him.

The Boers sent a messenger to Dr. Jameson asking him to withdraw from the territory of the Transvaal, but Dr. Jameson wrote to the Boer commandant at Maricoland, refusing to withdraw from the Transvaal and avowing that he would proceed with his original plans, which, in

acceptance of the invitation of the principal residents of Rand, were to assist them in their demands for justice.

The London Times, January 2, 1896, printed a dispatch from its Berlin correspondent, in which he said:

"The crisis in the Transvaal endangers British relations with Germany. The Government hitherto has endeavored to restrain the newspapers over which it has some control, but, judging from what has already been written, one does not like to contemplate what will happen when the restraint is removed.

"Inasmuch as the numerous German residents of the Transvaal cannot but be affected by a serious breach of the public peace, Germany cannot be at a loss for a concrete cause for interference if she is determined to interfere. There is some reason to believe that she is determined and resolved, under no circumstances, to tolerate a disturbance of the status quo in South Africa."

Considerable excitement prevailed in Berlin over the crisis in the Transvaal, and the attitude of Great Britain was denounced on all sides. The Vossische Zeitung said:

"The proceedings of the British South Africa Company cannot be tolerated, and Germany must immediately take energetic steps to protect the South African Republic."

The paper also expressed hope that Dr. Leyds, the diplomatic agent of the South African Republic, who was then in Berlin and in close communication with the German Foreign Office, had telegraphed to Pretoria that Germany would grant the Boers protection that would not be "merely diplomatic."

The Cologne Gazette said that Germany had sent an official inquiry to Great Britain as to what steps were to be taken by the British Government in regard to the invasion of the Transvaal by the British South Africa Company.

Other reports from the South African Republic confirmed the news previously received of the gravity of the situation and Mr. Chamberlain issued the following statement:

"Having learned that Dr. Jameson had entered the Boer country, I have since been continuously engaged in an endeavor to avert the consequence of his extraordinary action. Sir Hercules Robinson, governor of Cape Colony, has by proclamation publicly repudiated Dr. Jameson's act, and has enjoined the British subjects to obey the law

carrying the British flag, have arrived near Bustenburg and are on the march to Johannesburg.

"The President of the Transvaal regards this incursion as a serious violation of the convention with Great Britain and hopes that immediate steps will be taken to stop any further advance of the intruders, as he cannot allow the country's rights to be violated in this manner."

The governor of Cape Colony replied:

"I declare that if the report is true the step was taken without my sanction or previous knowledge. I immediately wired my disapproval of the action and directed the troopers to retire without delay."

President Kruger, replying to a dispatch of inquiry from Mr. Chamberlain, cabled:

"I have not ordered the freebooters who are prisoners to be shot. Their case will be decided strictly in accordance with the traditions of the Republic, and in sharp contrast to the unheard-of acts of these freebooters. So many lies and false reports are published in even the influential newspapers in England that I deem it advisable to add that the freebooter prisoners have been treated with greatest consideration by our burghers, despite the fact that the latter have been more than once compelled to take up arms in defense of the dearly bought independence of our Republic. I hope you will kindly pardon the liberty I am taking when I say that our confidence in Rhodes has received such a rude shock that his repudiation of the proceedings at Buluwayo ought to be received with the greatest caution. Even now we have news that an armed force is collecting on our borders. If this is true I trust that not the word of Rhodes, but the influence of the Government will suffice to prevent further incursions. Will you, with a view to checking further lying reports, publish this?"

Mr. Chamberlain replied:

"I thank you for your message, which I will publish as you desire. The press has not given credence to the rumors about cruelty of your magnanimity. I have sent an Imperial officer to Buluwayo to see that my orders are obeyed, and to prevent a further raid. You may rest confident that I will strictly uphold all the obligations of the London convention of 1884."

The same day a cable dispatch from Johannesburg was received at the office in London of the Johannesburg Standard, stating that in reply to an address presented to him by a deputation, President Kruger



THE GRAVE OF THE REARGUARD.



GRAVES OF CAPT. MACSWINEY AND LIEUT. HARRISON.



LONELY CEMETERY AT BRONKHORSTSPRUIT.



GRAVE OF LIEUT.-COL. ANSTUTHER.



LEKUKU, KHAMA'S FIGHTING GENERAL, WHO HAS OFFERED TO HELP BRITISH AGAINST THE BOERS.

said that the Government would remove the duties on foodstuffs. He also promised that equal subsidies would be given to all schools, whatever language might be taught in them, and that the franchise would be made more liberal. The dispatch added:

"Nevertheless, in the quarters of the capitalists scheming is going on for active hostilities against the Government. Respectable merchants of all nations are combining to circumvent the aims of Cecil Rhodes. The merchants are forming a brigade to protect life and property. The wives and children of the capitalists left days ago. Secret enlisting is proceeding, and lectures on their political grievances are being given to the miners.

"Colonel Rhodes, a brother of Cecil Rhodes, Lionel Phillips, and Charles Leonard, three prominent capitalists, were asked to say that they disapproved of a revolution, but they have made no reply. The community fears the worst, but is prepared to defeat the conspiracy. In the meantime the Boer Government behaves admirably, and allows the freest speech. Loafers already admit that they are in the pay of the capitalists. It is undoubtedly a clear case of an attempt to pick a quarrel and grab the golden treasures of the Transvaal."

As a precaution against a revolutionary outbreak the Transvaal Government swore in 1,000 volunteer police, consisting of men of all nations represented in the Transvaal. It was their duty to maintain order at Johannesburg and elsewhere.

There were many people in London who knew South Africa, who declared there was nothing to prevent Cape Colony and other British possessions from joining in a revolt for independence if their pet hero, Dr. "Jim" had been allowed to pay the penalty of his life for his last adventure.

Not only this, but public opinion in England was giving unmistakable evidence that it was strongly on the side of Jameson and his men. There was an astonishing and significant demonstration January 3 at the Olympic Theatre, London, where a popular patriotic play entitled "Cheer, Boys, Cheer," was given before a crowded house. The whole audience at one point broke into cheers for Dr. Jameson.

There had been a similar outburst the previous night, and the management desired to prevent it. A body of police entered the theatre, ejected several who had led in the cheering, and the play went on up to the famous scene representing Major Wilson and his men on the

co-operation of the British and Dutch races which is necessary for its future development and prosperity."

President Kruger, replying to Mr. Chamberlain's dispatch, sent the following telegram to Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of Cape Colony, for transmission to Mr. Chamberlain:

"It is my intention to hand over the prisoners, so that Mr. Jameson and the British under him may be punished by Her Majesty's Government. I will make known to Your Excellency my final decision in the matter as soon as Johannesburg shall have reverted to a condition of quietness and order. In the meantime, I request Your Excellency to assure the Queen of my high appreciation of her words and in proferring my respectful good wishes to express my thanks for the same."

Twenty-two members of the Reform Committee of Johannesburg were arrested at their club, January 9, on a charge of high treason, and were conveyed under escort to Pretoria. Conspicuous among them were Colonel Rhodes, brother of Cecil Rhodes, ex-Premier of Cape Colony; John Hays Hammond, an American engineer, and Lionel Phillips.

President Kruger, the same day, proved himself to be both humane and generous, by releasing more than four hundred of the Jameson filibusters. They were freed at noon and under strong escort were taken via Heidelberg and Paardekraal to Newcastle, Natal, where they were turned over to the British authorities.

In this trip they were compelled to go through the pass between Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill, where the British under Sir George Colley were so disastrously defeated February 27, 1881.

Dr. Jameson and the officers of the expedition, it was added, would be kept at Pretoria until the terms of the indemnity to be paid by the British South Africa Company were settled.

A large safe which was consigned to one Farrar, one of the imprisoned Rand leaders, was opened by the customs officers and was found to contain 100 revolvers and 7,000 rounds of cartridges.

A proclamation issued by President Kruger January 10, 1896, said that he had long meditated an alteration of the constitution, but that he could not accede to unwarrantable demands.

He had intended to submit to the next session of the Volksraad a law granting a municipality to Johannesburg. "Dare I do so," continued the proclamation, "after what has happened? I will give the



PANORAMA OF DURBAN AND THE BLUFF FROM OCEAN VIEW HOTEL.



HARBOR AT DURBAN, WHERE THE BRITISH TROOPS ARRIVE

answer myself. I know that there are thousands in Johannesburg to whom I can with confidence intrust this. Let the Johannesburgers make it possible for the Government to appear before the Volksraad with the words, 'Forget and forgive!'

At a meeting at Manchester, England, January 15, presided over by Arthur J. Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury, the chairman, in the course of an address, made incidental mention of Emperor William of Germany, which was greeted by his hearers with groans and hoots.

Referring to the Transvaal difficulty, Mr. Balfour declared that he could not discuss the gravity of the offense of those who would be arraigned for their operations in the South African Republic, but he said he was sure that those who were responsible for the movement there were not guided by mean, sordid motives. The Government, he said, was of the opinion that it was impossible for affairs in the Transvaal to reach a satisfactory condition while its Government was founded upon so artificial and inequitable a basis as it is at present, the Outlanders, who are vastly in the majority, paying the greater proportion of the taxes, and not having the smallest share in the government. President Kruger, Mr. Balfour admitted, had displayed great generosity and political wisdom, and he hoped, therefore, that the promised reforms would not be delayed longer than was necessary.

"It is beyond question," said Mr. Balfour, "that the Transvaal Republic is free in the administration of its internal affairs, but its external affairs are subject to the control of Great Britain. Call it suzerainty, or by any other name chosen, there is no mistaking this fact, and foreign interference will not be permitted."

Nevertheless, Mr. Balfour said, he was not aware that any foreign country was prepared to dispute the doctrine.

General N. H. Harris, of San Francisco, January 17, received a cable dispatch from Mr. A. Wiltsie, dated London, January 1, which read as follows:

"Hammond in solitary confinement; position most critical. Others all right. Strong demand on United States Government in his behalf necessary forthwith."

Another dispatch read:

"London, January 17, 1896.

"General N. H. Harris, San Francisco:

"Following cable received from Connor, Johannesburg: 'Use all

possible influence in Washington in behalf of American prisoners. My worst fears of their critical position is now confirmed. Hammond is likely to be sentenced to several years' imprisonment. Push Washington.'
E. A. Wiltsie."

According to a dispatch from Cape Town Cecil Rhodes, the former Premier of Cape Colony, was interviewed previous to sailing for England, and said:

"I am no coward, and I shall not resign my seat in Parliament. I shall meet my detractors and shall be satisfied if civil rights are granted to the Outlanders. I intend to be present at the annual meeting of the Chartered Company in London, when I shall address the shareholders on recent events. It was also said to be quite untrue that President Kruger was aware of Dr. Jameson's intention to invade the Transvaal territory. On the contrary, the President, after having been told that Jameson had crossed the border, said:

"Don't tell me that Englishmen would do that. Whatever may be said of them, they are open and brave, and would not make a cowardly, unprovoked attack upon us."

President Kruger readily accepted the assistance of the governor of Cape Colony in bringing about a settlement of the disturbances, and they parted cordially.

Dr. Jameson and his officers, after having been released by the Boers, arrived at Durban, Natal, from Pretoria at daybreak, January 20, and were forthwith escorted on the British transport *Victoria*, which sailed for England the next day.

A London Times' correspondent also had an interview with General Joubert, commander-in-chief of the Boer forces, who said:

"I think there is only one braver than Dr. Jameson, and he is the devil. I would never have had the courage to break into another man's house as he did. Is Jameson a barbarian, or did he think us barbarians?"

General Joubert, in a speech at Heilbron, January 23, in which he thanked the burghers for their prompt, energetic and patriotic action in the troubles in the Transvaal, said that the raid of Dr. Jameson and his followers was not the work of the "honorable and noble section of the British residents," but, on the other hand, was a "cunning and insidious attempt to overthrow law and order."

Secretary Olney, January 31, requested the assistance of the British Government for the protection of the lives and interests of American citizens in the Transvaal and received a prompt and favorable reply.

By appealing to Great Britain for this courtesy the United States Government indorsed the Convention of 1884, by which British suzerainty was acknowledged over the South African Republic. At the same time it announced its determination not to recognize Emperor William's position as being well taken.

As soon as it was learned that John Hays Hammond, the American mining engineer, had been arrested at Johannesburg on a charge of treason in connection with the rising of the Outlanders, and that other American citizens might be in danger of similar treatment, Secretary Olney cabled instructions to the United States consular agent at Johannesburg, Mr. Manyon, to take such steps as were in his power for the protection of his countrymen in the Transvaal.

The Secretary also cabled to Ambassador Bayard in London asking him to call at the Foreign Office and secure the good offices of British representatives in South Africa on behalf of the Americans there, who are said to number about five hundred. Secretary Olney received an answer from Ambassador Bayard to the effect that the United States Government's request had been received in the most friendly spirit. Mr. Bayard was given prompt assurances by Mr. Chamberlain that the governor of Cape Colony would secure for Mr. Hammond and all other American citizens the same protection as would be accorded to British subjects in like circumstances.

For some time after the news of the surrender of the Jameson raiders had spread throughout the world there was a lull in the storm, though the air was full of conflicting rumors. The British Colonial Office received a dispatch, January 4, 1896, from the Governor of Cape Colony, saying:

"De Wet (Sir Jacobus De Wet, the British agent at Pretoria) wires: 'Everything is quiet and no further serious disturbances will occur. A deputation from the Johannesburg Reform Committee came over yesterday evening, giving guarantees to keep the peace and maintain order. I waited upon President Kruger and informed him of the guarantee. He gave me the assurance that pending your arrival, if the Johannesburg people keep quiet and commit no hostile acts or in

any way break the laws of the country, Johannesburg will not be molested or surrounded by the burgher forces. The deputation was highly grateful for this assurance and pledged the committee to preserve peace and order.

"I take this opportunity of testifying in the strongest manner to the great moderation and forbearance of the Transvaal under exceptionally trying circumstances. Their attitude toward myself was everything I could wish.

"The prisoners have just arrived. The casualties on their side are said to be severe, and on the side of the burghers very slight."

Another dispatch from the Governor read:

"De Wet wires that Jameson's wounded number over thirty. They are all at Krugersdorp and attended by doctors. Their names and the details of their wounds cannot yet be given. The number of killed is estimated at seventy, but no reliable information is obtainable. The bodies are still being picked up on the battlefield and buried.

"The Cape Town papers say that Dr. Jameson, Sir Charles Willoughby and Captain White (a brother of Lord Annaly) are lodged in the Pretoria jail. Grey and Coventry (Captain Charles J. Coventry of the Bechuanaland police and a brother of the Earl of Coventry) are wounded. The Boers captured about 500 prisoners."

Later in the day a dispatch was received at the Colonial Office from Cape Town, and said the battle lasted from 3 o'clock in the afternoon until 11 o'clock at night. Dr. Jameson led the three principal attacks, and, it was added, his men distinguished themselves by their great gallantry.

This dispatch also gave the first details of the engagement. It said the Boer position was a right-angled one and Dr. Jameson attacked it at one point, and in entering the angle had the fire of the Boers on his front and flanks. The Boers, it appeared, were much superior in numbers and their position was unassailable. Dr. Jameson and 550 men were taken prisoners at Krugersdorp and were afterward sent to Pretoria.

A large deputation of merchants and others interested in South African matters called at the Colonial Office the same evening to urge the Government to take steps for the protection of their friends and relatives. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, replied that, so far as could be seen, further disturbances were improb-

able. The British Government, he said, "sympathized with the undoubted grievances of the Outlanders." He also explained that the Government "acted in the most energetic fashion imaginable in trying to stop the raid and in attempting to avert further trouble."

Mr. Chamberlain added that Ministers of the Government proposed to adhere to their obligations under the Convention of 1884, and that they would continue to uphold that convention and all its provisions. From this position, he explained, nothing that had occurred could possibly induce them to recede.

The British press continued to rage against Germany, on account of Emperor William's dispatch to President Kruger, and the German newspapers violently attacked Great Britain. The Jameson raid brought out all the latent feeling of hostility in Germany to England, and evoked a similar outburst to that produced by President Cleveland's Venezuelan message in the United States. The general belief in Germany that the duplicity of the British statesmen was deliberate, in their policy of keeping Europe divided into two camps in order to facilitate British aggressions and encroachments in Africa and elsewhere, received supposed confirmation in the news of Dr. Jameson's piratical venture.

In spite of the disavowal of the British Secretary of State for the Colonies of any knowledge or responsibility for the step taken by Dr. Jameson, little doubt was felt in Germany that it was prompted in high quarters, and the weighty terms of the German Emperor's message were interpreted as indicating the same mistrust of British protestations as was felt in Government circles.

Everybody understood that the Emperor's message to President Kruger was not due to mere impulse, but was decided upon and drafted after a grave council of ministers, and it was regarded as an open pronouncement of a change in German policy toward Great Britain.

After immediate news of the invasion of the Transvaal was received the Emperor summoned the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, and Dr. Kayser, Director of the Colonial Office, to Potsdam and spoke to them in strong terms of the breach of international law.

Later an official note was sent to the British Government asking, curtly, the meaning of Dr. Jameson's raid and what steps would be taken to neutralize it. Moreover, it was asserted, the intention to land

German sailors at Delagoa Bay was abandoned only on the receipt of the news of Dr. Jameson's defeat. The consent of Portugal, it was added, had been asked for the transit of troops across Portuguese territory.

Another statement, made on good authority, was that Germany already had come to an agreement with France to arrest the British advance in South Africa, and that 1,500 German volunteers, well equipped, would start on board a North German Lloyd steamship for Delagoa Bay to assist the Boers.

At the New Year's reception at the palace Emperor William was frigid in his treatment of the British Ambassador, Sir Francis C. Lascelles. It was remarked that His Majesty addressed barely a few words to him and eyed him sternly. On the other hand, the Emperor's reception of the United States Ambassador, Mr. Theodore Runyon, was most cordial. Besides the usual congratulations, His Majesty took pains to manifest the undisturbed relations of intimacy between Germany and the United States, talking with Mr. Runyon most pleasantly and amicably for some time.

Then came another mild and unexpected thunder-clap. It was announced, January 5, 1896, that Cecil Rhodes, Premier of Cape Colony, had resigned, but, it was further said, the Governor of Cape Colony had declined to accept his resignation.

Mr. Chamberlain telegraphed to Pretoria asking if it was true that Dr. Jameson had been shot, adding that Mr. Rhodes had telegraphed a positive denial of the rumored gathering of a second force of the British South Africa Company's troops at Buluwayo.

President Kruger replied that he had given no order to shoot the captured freebooters, but that they would be punished according to law. He said they had been treated with the greatest consideration by the burghers, despite the fact that the latter had more than once been forced to take up arms in defense of the republic. President Kruger concluded with saying:

"Our confidence in Mr. Rhodes has received such a rude shock that his repudiation of the proceedings at Buluwayo ought to be received with the greatest caution. Even now we have news that another armed force is collecting on our borders. If that be true, I trust that not the word of Mr. Rhodes, but the influence of your Government will suffice to prevent the further incursions of freebooters,

although it was not successful in arresting the advance of Dr. Jameson."

Mr. Chamberlain thanked President Kruger for his assurances, and added that he had always felt confidence in his magnanimity.

Mr. Chamberlain also announced that he had sent an imperial officer to Buluwayo to see that his orders were obeyed and to prevent the possibility of another raid. He assured President Kruger that he could rest confident that the Convention of 1884 would be strictly observed.

Replying to the congratulatory message of Emperor William, President Kruger sent His Majesty the following reply:

"I testify to Your Majesty my very deep and heartfelt thanks for your sincere congratulations. With God's help we hope to do everything possible to hold our dearly bought independence and the stability of our beloved republic."

It was reported at the same time in Vienna that Prince Hatzfeldt, the German Ambassador in London, had informed the Marquis of Salisbury that Germany refused to recognize British suzerainty over the Transvaal, and it was believed that Austria supported Germany in this view.

Dr. Jameson's expedition into the Transvaal, it developed later, was undertaken on the understanding that there was to be an uprising of the Outlanders in Johannesburg to co-operate with him, and his raid might have been successful if he had received the expected assistance.

The failure of Johannesburg to take part in the fight at Krugersdorp, where Dr. Jameson met his disastrous reverse, was partly explained by cablegrams received in London, January 5, dated December 30, the day before Dr. Jameson's start, confirming the reports that President Kruger had received a deputation of aggrieved residents and had promised to take off the duties on foodstuffs, to give equal subsidies for schools of all languages and to advocate the desired change in the franchise.

This, it seems, satisfied the Outlanders, and the leading men of all nationalities united in trying to allay the agitation fostered by certain capitalists to bring on a conflict with the authorities which would give an excuse for Imperial intervention and give the conspirators a chance to gobble up a rich country.

The National Union, an organization of British subjects living in

the Transvaal, of which Charles Leonard was the chairman, issued a manifesto, December 26, addressed to the people of the republic, in which it announced that it would labor for these ends:

1. The establishment of a republic as a true republic under a constitution approved by the whole people.
2. An equitable franchise and a fair representation.
3. The equality of the Dutch and English languages.
4. The responsibility to the legislature of the heads of the great departments.
5. The removal of religious disabilities.
6. The establishment of independent courts of justice, with adequate pay for the judges, which shall be properly secured.
7. Liberal education.
8. An efficient civil service, with an adequate pay and pension system.
9. Free trade in African products.

The manifesto concluded as follows:

"We shall expect an answer in plain terms according to your deliberate judgment at the meeting to be held January 6."

The following telegram from Berlin, printed in the London Times, December 27, throws light on the then recent events in the South African Republic:

"It is hard to say what amount of significance should be attributed to the increasing attention bestowed in this country upon South African questions, with which, at first sight, Germany would seem to have little reason to concern herself. But it is worth noting that, of late especially, the position of the Transvaal and of the Orange Free State appears to exercise the German mind as keenly as if those republics were the direct offshoots of the German Fatherland, and the dangers which are supposed to threaten them from the insatiable ambition of Cecil Rhodes, the Napoleon of South Africa, form a frequent and congenial theme of discussion in a spirit of anything but friendliness towards England.

"Now, if one may be allowed to vary a remark recently made by the North-German Gazette, with reference to British sentimentality leaving off where British interests begin, it may be said that German sentiment is not easily aroused where German interests are not believed to be involved, and one is driven to the conclusion that Germany would

not display so much sympathy for her very distant kinsmen in South Africa if she had not some special use marked out for them in the interests, either actual or prospective, of the German policy.

"As an illustration of the spirit in which these questions are approached by the moderate and responsible organs of German public opinion, I may quote the following passage from a letter in the Cologne Gazette, which, although dated from Amsterdam, would appear on internal evidence to have been inspired much nearer home. After recapitulating some of the statements and arguments set forth in the leading article of the Times of the 16th inst., it went on: 'As for the Outlanders, whose "legitimate" claims are thus endorsed, it may be well to remember that if they form the majority of the population, they have only come into the Transvaal in order to make money as quickly as possible and then go away again. They refuse to surrender their British nationality, and yet they demand the same civic rights, including that of the suffrage, as the Boers. Originally, too, these rights were a matter of complete indifference to them, and it is only recently, and at the instigation of the Cape Government, that they have suddenly awakened to their importance.'

"Cecil Rhodes has certainly succeeded in sowing the seeds of discontent, and in view of the moral and intellectual standard of the Rand adventurers one may well expect that the explosive materials constantly imported from Cape Town will, before long, produce serious commotions. Then, of course, according to the calculations of the Cape politicians, British blood will be shed, England will have to intervene, and the rest will follow of itself—namely, the incorporation of the Boer republic with British South Africa. That so much irritation should all at once be displayed in England against the Boers is very significant, and it would seem to show that Mr. Rhodes has already laid his train to his own satisfaction, and that the signal to fire it may at any moment be given."

The *Novoe Vremya* of St. Petersburg urged Russia to join the alliance of the Powers for intervention in South Africa. She would thus, it claimed, secure the Dutch and Portuguese coaling stations in the event of an Anglo-Russian conflict.

It was difficult to get any definite expression of opinion at that time in St. Petersburg upon the subject of the Transvaal difficulty, owing to the fact that Russia did not take much interest in that part

of the world. The Russian Government made it a point of invariably confining its attention to territorial questions immediately affecting the empire, and even about these it said as little as possible. The few opinions gathered, however, simply re-echoed the views current in Germany, nearly all the views given at the Russian capital being quoted from the German newspapers.

Emperor William's message to President Kruger, however, met with but little sympathy in St. Petersburg as not being in accordance with Russian ideas, and also because of its tendency to disturb the peace of Europe, the maintenance of which, Russian statesmen claimed, constituted the whole aim of Russia's policy at that period.

Emperor William gave an audience, January 6, to Dr. Leyds, the representative of the South African Republic. His Majesty, it was asserted, assured Dr. Leyds that the Transvaal republic could reckon upon the protection of Germany.

It was also said that the Emperor promised Dr. Leyds that Germany would recognize the independence of the Transvaal republic by appointing a German resident at Pretoria instead of a consul, as previously, and also assured the Transvaal representative that the Triple Alliance would recognize the independence of the South African Republic.

A member of the Portuguese legation in Berlin said, January 6:

"In the present juncture Great Britain is completely isolated. Even Italy and Austria refuse to accord her any support. The development of the present crisis, which may change completely the situation in Europe, is being followed with the greatest attention in Portugal. A Franco-Russo-German alliance seems to me to be extremely probable, but an understanding between them on various questions as they arise threatens the domination of England all over the world.

"Austria will try to bring about an amicable arrangement between Germany and Great Britain, without, however, expressing any disapproval of the Emperor's telegram to President Kruger."

Incidentally it was said that the British Government was hurrying troops from India to Cape Town. Frequent and prolonged conferences took place between Joseph Chamberlain, G. J. Goschen, First Lord of the Admiralty, and the heads of the War and Admiralty Departments. Field Marshal Lord Wolseley, Commander-in-Chief of

the British forces, and the entire headquarters staff busied themselves at the Horse Guards (War Office) until a late hour January 6.

The opinion in well-informed circles in Paris was that the exchange of telegrams between Mr. Chamberlain and President Kruger showed that neither side was prepared to make any concessions. Emperor William's allusion to friendly powers which might aid the Transvaal republic in case of necessity was made the most of in President Kruger's reply to Mr. Chamberlain.

The situation then was: The Boers claimed their absolute independence and the abrogation of the treaty of 1884, which prevented them from concluding engagements with foreign powers. The German Emperor upheld them in this attitude. The British Government, on the contrary, declared that it would uphold the Convention of 1884 at all hazards, even if doing so involved war with Germany.

CHAPTER XXIV.

EMPEROR WILLIAM'S MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT KRUGER.

Shortly after the news of the defeat and capture of Dr. Jameson and his followers had been given to the world Great Britain was startled by the announcement that Emperor William of Germany had sent a message of congratulation to President Kruger. The report turned out to be correct, and the message was worded as follows:

"I express my sincere congratulations that, supported by your people, and without appealing for help to friendly powers, you have succeeded by your own energetic action against the armed bands which invaded your country as disturbers of the peace, and have thus been enabled to restore and safeguard the independence of your country against attacks from outside."

This dispatch was not the result of impulse. It was a deliberate step taken by the German Emperor, for he conferred with the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe, January 3, the morning before he sent the cable message to Pretoria. This nearly caused a war between Great Britain and Germany. His Majesty's action was most severely denounced by the British press. The Times said:

"It is grave and distinctly unfriendly, and, being composed after a conference with Chancellor Von Hohenlohe and the Foreign and Naval Secretaries, imparts to it the importance of a state act."

Continuing, the Times argued that Germany had no ground to contend that any doubt existed as to Great Britain's right of suzerainty over the Transvaal, and asks:

"Is our Berlin correspondent indeed right when he confesses that he is driven to the conclusion that Germany has gladly seized this opportunity to humiliate England?"

The Berlin correspondent of the Times expressed the fear that Emperor William's telegram would induce President Kruger to annul the Transvaal treaties with Great Britain.

The Morning Post of London said:

"It is evident that the Emperor considers war with England something to be prepared for. We cannot hide from ourselves that England stands alone. The proper reply to the Emperor's telegram is the

recall of the Mediterranean squadron to join the Channel squadron."

The Standard gave Germany to understand that England would brook no interference between herself and the Transvaal.

The Daily News (Liberal), on the contrary, said:

"There is nothing hostile in the Emperor's words. They are a warning, which is sorely needed in some quarters, that the encouragement of filibusters is playing with edged tools. England has no right to interfere with the internal affairs of the Transvaal."

The Berlin correspondent of the Telegraph telegraphed that Dr. Leyds had news that the fighting at Krugersdorp was desperate and lasted for twenty-four hours, with heavy slaughter. Dr. Jameson and all the survivors, the advices, state, were prisoners, and it was pretty certain that some of them would be hanged or shot as an example.

The Times thought that the complete cessation of news from the Transvaal was incompatible with the reports already received, and suggested that the Government should assume control of the Eastern Telegraph Company's offices, as it was empowered to do in an emergency.

A Berlin dispatch to the Post reported that the evening papers there hurled insults against England, the South Africa Company and Cecil Rhodes. The Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung headed its article "A Wild Dance."

The Berlin correspondent of the News said:

"The affair threatens to become a trial of strength between England and Germany. I learn that the cruiser Condor has been ordered to Delagoa Bay."

A dispatch to the Daily Telegraph said:

"The relations between England and Germany, which on Wednesday were dangerously near a formal rupture, have now reassumed their normal character. A German protectorate over the Transvaal has never been contemplated, and it is to be hoped that the Emperor's telegram to President Kruger, generous but impulsive, as is usual with him, will not be interpreted in England as an act of hostility. Mr. Chamberlain's prompt and just action in disavowing Dr. Jameson is warmly appreciated here."

The Standard said that Emperor William's message was a strikingly unfriendly act. It raised the presumption that he wished to either challenge or destroy British suzerainty in the Transvaal. Germany.

troops returning from India or bound for that part of the British Empire were ordered to call at Cape Town, so that all that was necessary was to instruct their commanding officers to land drafts at the Cape.

In short, Great Britain rattled her sword in the scabbard, and it seems to have had the effect of calming the feeling in Germany looking to intervention in South Africa.

The war spirit spread all over the British Empire, all classes eagerly supported the Government in resenting the attitude of Germany towards Great Britain and the British press was unanimous in its approval of the preparations of the naval and military authorities.

The Globe, an influential London afternoon newspaper, which frequently receives inspiration from high official sources, said January 8:

"There is absolutely no difference of opinion among Britishers in their keen resentment of the wholly unprovoked affront put upon this proud land by Emperor William and his foolhardy counsellors. Instead of working England harm with the Americans, the Emperor's insolent interference has revived the feeling of kinship and is making easier a friendly arrangement of the Venezuelan question."

Regarding the report that Germany had prevailed upon Portugal to allow German troops to traverse the Portuguese South African territory adjoining the Transvaal, with the view of re-enforcing the Boers, a dispatch from Berlin said it was rumored there that Portugal had positively refused to consent to any such movement upon the part of Germany.

The idea that a combination of the powers of Europe had been formed against Great Britain gained ground, and the Paris newspapers announced that the movement was really on foot to establish an anti-British alliance.

Oil was poured upon these troubled waters by a dispatch from the Governor of Cape Colony, saying:

"You may be satisfied that the crisis is over and that all danger of further hostilities is ended."

The clouds of war were still further cleared away when it was announced in Berlin that the German Council of Ministers did not fully approve of Emperor William's dispatch to President Kruger, but that the Emperor insisted upon having his own way and handed the message himself to the telegraph bureau, ordering that a copy of it be given to the semi-official newspapers.



ELANDSFONTEIN JUNCTION—"CHANGE HERE FOR JOHANNESBURG."



A WEDDING IN NATIVE HIGH LIFE IN ZULULAND.

Finally, the sun of peace broke through the clouds when the London Times, in a dispatch from Berlin, referring to the supposed purpose of Germany to dispatch troops to South Africa, said:

"It is now explained that Germany only desired to protect German residents and its consulate at Pretoria, and that no arrangement had been previously made with Portugal, and, after hearing that Dr. Jameson had started, Germany only had time to telegraph an explanation of its intended action to Lisbon. The news of Dr. Jameson's defeat arrived before Portugal had time to reply. It is a pity that this explanation was not published earlier."

On the Continent it was openly charged that not only was Cecil Rhodes fully aware of the movements of Dr. Jameson, but that the British Government was also aware of what was going on. Had the raid been successful, according to popular belief in Europe at the time, Great Britain would have stepped in and occupied the Transvaal, ostensibly to protect her subjects, but really to establish an occupation similar to that in Egypt, which would have been tantamount to the annexation of the South African Republic. But, as the raid resulted in a miserable fiasco, the British Government was accused of attempting to forestall condemnation by emphatically denying any prior knowledge of the proceedings and taking measures to prevent the departure of the Jameson expedition after it knew it had departed and had resulted in a failure.

These statements were denied in London, where the Government newspapers insisted that Mr. Chamberlain had acted throughout with clean hands.

Senator Morgan, of Alabama, in the United States Senate, January 10, introduced a resolution in behalf of the Transvaal republic, which gave color to the report that President Kruger had asked for the moral support of the United States. This resolution, which was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee, read:

"Resolved, That the people of the United States of America, through their representatives in Congress assembled, convey to the President and people of the Republic of the Transvaal their earnest congratulations upon their success in establishing a free representative government, republican in form, and in their opposition to any foreign power that denies to them the full enjoyment of these rightful liber-

ties. The people of America, having realized, through the favor of the God of Nations, the blessings of government based upon the consent of the governed, entertain with confidence the pleasing hope and belief that the principles of self-government will be securely established through the influence of the Republic of France in her colonies, and of the republics of Liberia and the Transvaal, founded by the people in Africa, and that these republics will foster and give firm support to the peaceful progress of Christian civilization in the new and vast field now being opened to the commerce and institutions of all the nations of the earth throughout that great continent.

"Resolved, That the President of the United States is requested to communicate this action of Congress to the President of the Transvaal republic."

At about the same time it was announced from Berlin that Germany had no intention to call a conference of the Powers or to propose an abrogation of the British-Transvaal Convention of 1884, and it was hinted that some future agreement between Germany and the Transvaal was all that might grow out of the then existing unpleasantness.

The correspondent of the London Daily News, at Berlin, telegraphed:

"The whole action of Germany was a mistake. She did not desire to quarrel with England, but only to prove the value of her friendship. In pursuance of this object Germany overstepped the limits of precaution.

"It is significant, however, that all the papers connected with the Government published statements about the abrogation of the Convention of 1884. And, although they have no correspondents at Pretoria, they display a suspicious acquaintance with the intentions of the Transvaal Government."

Queen Victoria, January 10, addressed an autograph letter to Mr. Chamberlain, thanking him for his services in connection with the disturbances in the Transvaal, and Mr. Chamberlain went to Osborne, Isle of Wight, to visit Her Majesty.

Alfred Austin, the then newly-appointed poet laureate, published a poem entitled "Jameson's Ride." The concluding stanza was as follows:

"I suppose we were wrong—were madmen,
Still I think at the Judgment Day,
When God sifts the good from the bad men,
There will be something more to say.
We were wrong, but we are not half sorry,
And, as one of the baffled band,
I would rather have had that foray,
Than the crushings of all the Rand."

Eventually the trouble between Great Britain and Germany passed into history as a thing of the past, and it really led to a better understanding between the two countries, which, some people claim, was the aim which Emperor William had in view when he stirred up the vials of British wrath by sending his message to President Kruger.

During the incident it was announced that Emperor William had sent a conciliatory letter to his grandmother, Queen Victoria, in response to an autograph letter of rebuke sent to him by Her Majesty. Although correspondence was exchanged between their majesties, it did not have the color popularly attributed to it.

The Westminster Gazette, of London, commenting on the relations between the Emperor and the British royal family, said that these relations were offensive. The paper claimed that the German Emperor used the imperative in his intercourse with all his relations in England and Germany, and held himself to be the head of the family, next to Queen Victoria. It was added that, as the son of the British Princess Royal, he always contended that he was heir to the British throne, in connection with which the Frankfort Zeitung renewed the story that Emperor William, in the event of the death of Queen Victoria, would claim the throne of the United Kingdom and prepare to enforce his rights by force of arms, which caused considerable amusement in Great Britain.

A proclamation issued by the Governor of Cape Colony, January 11, removed Dr. Jameson from his position as administrator of Mashonaland. He was replaced by F. J. Newton, Secretary of the British Colony of Bechuanaland.

Delegates from the Orange Free State were sent to the Transvaal to confer with the Government of that republic regarding the steps to be taken in the event of the Orange Free State being asked to assist the Transvaal.

Among the members of the Johannesburg Reform Committee arrested on the charge of treason was Solly Joel, a nephew of Barney Barnato, and it was reported that it cost him \$60,000 to get out of the Transvaal.

Barney Barnato came in for his share of the Transvaal trouble. There was quite a scene January 14, when he faced a meeting in London of the shareholders in his South African Bank, which he had launched a few months previously without any statement as to its assets or purposes and without as much as a prospectus. Yet, the value of the shares almost immediately rose to such a figure that he was understood to have made a million pounds sterling or more in an hour. The meeting was held for the purpose of hearing a statement on these points. An extraordinary scene followed. The meeting was held in a great gilded chamber in the Cannon Street Hotel, and the gallery was filled with gayly-dressed ladies. By noon the whole hall was so densely packed that there was hardly room to move, and self-respecting business men had to climb upon stoves, shelves, or anything affording them points of vantage. Shortly before noon a ringing cheer hailed the arrival of Barney Barnato. Unfortunately, as Barney entered, a screen fell upon him and somewhat dampened the proceedings. He proceeded to make his statement, but as soon as the doubting shareholders began to ask questions he bundled up his papers and made his escape amid hisses and general confusion.

CHAPTER XXV.

INSIDE HISTORY OF THE RAID.

Under date of Johannesburg, January 8, 1896, Mr. Harold Boice wrote the following account of what he claimed to be the inside history of the Jameson raid. He said:

It has been impossible up to this date to communicate with John Hays Hammond, the American engineer, and his fellow-prisoners now held in durance at Pretoria, but I am able to throw some inside light upon the incidents which led up to the present state of affairs.

The real story of the revolution has not been told. Over a year ago plans were begun for a rebellion. Lee Metford and Martini-Henry rifles by the thousands and Maxim and Nordenfeldt guns were smuggled into the Transvaal from England. The rifles were consigned variously as diamond drills, iron pipe and sometimes as coke, an outer shell of coke making the deception successful. The big guns came as steam pumps, battery engines and electrical apparatus. As mining machinery is being constantly imported by the ship load to the gold fields, the Government made no discoveries.

Meat and breadstuffs, upon which there has been an exorbitant duty, were brought in as cyanide, the import duty on which is slight. So that at the beginning of the hostilities Johannesburg was prepared for a six months' siege. The chief fear was of a water famine, and at the outbreak of the rebellion the provisional government at Johannesburg detailed 2,000 armed men to guard the water works lest the Boers should cut off the supply and thus make capitulation necessary.

Much international sympathy for the Boers has been created by the reports cabled to Europe that the movement of the Outlanders was a downright attempt to take a free commonwealth by force, and absolutely usurp the rights of the original burghers. These reports have not told the whole story.

There are about 30,000 voters in the republic. These are the Voortrekkers, or pioneers, and their descendants. These Boers are unprogressive. With one of the richest countries, not only in minerals, but in agricultural possibilities, the country was bankrupt before the advent of the Americans and English. Even now, while Johannes-

burg offers every inducement for agricultural industry, the Boers raise only enough to live on, and are poor, with their farms untilled, with this city paying \$20 a sack for imported flour and about the same price for potatoes, also imported.

Nearly everything used in Johannesburg is imported. While the Boers will not raise anything themselves they will not allow any one else to develop the soil. Added to this, they have placed excessive duties on all the necessities of life. The duty on pork, for example, is £4 (\$20) per 100 pounds. Every effort has been made to make living impossible in Johannesburg, the Boers saying that if the aliens do not like it they need not stay. The Voortrekkers want to remain unmolested in their careless hunter life. Therefore, they are opposed to all attempts to develop and civilize the Transvaal.

In Johannesburg, and in the fifty miles of mining camps along the Witwatersrand, the world-famous gold reef which runs through the city, there are, according to conservative estimates, over a quarter of a million of white people—English, American, German, Scotch, Irish, and various European nationalities. The exact number cannot be known, as the Government has prohibited the taking of a census, fearing that any public acknowledgment of the great preponderance of inhabitants denied any voice in the government would result in lowering the international status of the republic, and give the Outlanders tangible cause for their demand for citizenship.

All along the Government, in refusing to accede to any of the demands of the unenfranchised, argued that the country belonged to the original settlers and their children; that the community on the Rand was made up of brilliant adventurers, lured by the lust of gold, and that these men cared only to amass a fortune and return to their respective countries, and that the Government, in denying them citizenship, was not ignoring the rights of man, but was merely protecting itself from absolute overthrow at the hands of adventurous speculators.

So the burghers framed and ratified a *grondwet*, or constitution, virtually proclaiming as political outcasts not only the thousands of Anglo-Saxons and others already in the country, but the countless numbers who should come in in the future. Thus they established an oligarchy of pioneers. It was as if the Pilgrim Fathers had denied citizenship to all who followed them to the new world.

The Outlanders contended that they were not a horde of nonde-

script money grabbers. They had invested great amounts of capital in industries and would continue active at least one hundred years, as all the mineralogists and engineers here agree that the gold of the Rand cannot be exhausted within that time. Having, in addition to investing their capital, built their homes and brought their families here, the Outlanders maintain that they should be recognized as peaceable and well-meaning aliens. Their grievances they compiled at length and presented to the Government. They were living in a large city and paying excessive taxes, but receiving but little benefit therefrom. The taxpayer was vouchsafed no information as to the Government's disposition of the revenue. The city was wretchedly governed, conducted without regard to sanitary laws, unprotected by the police, its inhabitants denied the right of trial by a jury of peers, blackmail was extorted from merchants by license collectors, and altogether the city was suffering from a reign of mingled provincialism and cupidity.

Last year a petition signed by 40,000 Outlanders asking for the franchise was greeted with derision in the Volksraad at Pretoria, the capital.

This treatment made possible rebels of two-thirds of the Outlanders in Johannesburg. Every one knew that sooner or later there would be trouble. The Government also expected an uprising and appropriated \$1,500,000 for forts at Pretoria and Johannesburg.

One of the newspapers here, owned by Cecil Rhodes, fulminated war cries; at public meetings the grievances of the Outlanders were reviewed, and the phrase, "No taxation without representation," which did duty in Revolutionary times in America, became the shibboleth of the gathering sedition.

A manifesto issued by the Transvaal National Union, an organization controlled by the Consolidated Gold Fields, was generally looked upon as a declaration of war.

The position of the Americans was a peculiar one. They wanted to see a change in the constitution of the republic, but they did not want to join in any movement that should pave the way for British occupation of the country. The fact that meetings where resolutions were passed adjourned with the song "Rule, Britannia," gave a sinister suggestion to the movement.

The Americans wanted a complete democracy. They recognized all the grievances which the insurrectionists pointed out, but they did

not want to see the Boer flag pulled down to make room for the Union Jack.

Trouble would have been precipitated long ago in the Transvaal had it not been for the calmer counsel and more statesmanlike course of some of the leading Americans here. For, while J. S. Curtis, the well-known American geologist; R. E. Brown, of Cœur d'Alene, Idaho; V. M. Clement, of Idaho, formerly of Grass Valley, California; George Starr, of Grass Valley, and others held the more recalcitrant insurrectionists in check to prevent precipitate riots that should end in futile slaughter and sacrifice, they advocated a compromise on the basis of a just constitutional republic.

In the meantime arms and ammunition were being distributed. The news of this warlike attitude reached Pretoria, and intense excitement spread throughout the republic. While both the Government and the rebels were preparing for war, the news came to Pretoria and Johannesburg that a large force of mounted men from Bechuanaland had crossed the border and were en route to Johannesburg to assist in the revolution.

War now seemed inevitable. The Americans, hoping to bring about a pacific termination of the trouble, hurriedly called a meeting. Captain Mein, manager of the Robinson mine; Hennen and Sidney Jennings, of the house of Eckstein; Charles Butters, of San Francisco, manager of the Rand Central Ore Reduction Company; J. S. Curtis, John Hays Hammond, consulting engineer of the Consolidated Gold Fields; R. E. Brown, consulting engineer of the Research & Development Company; F. R. Lingham, of the Puget Sound Lumber Company; V. M. Clement, assistant consulting engineer of the Consolidated Gold Fields and manager of the Simmer & Jack, the largest mine on the Rand; A. W. Stoddart, of Grass Valley; George Starr, consulting engineer and manager of the Barnato mines; J. McDougall, of Butte, Montana; W. E. Mellen, of Arizona, secretary of the Research & Development Company; W. A. Bos, of Michigan, engineer with R. E. Brown; J. H. Davis, of San Francisco; G. H. Leggett, consulting engineer of the wealthy house of Neumann & Co., and about fifty others were present.

After discussing the situation it was decided to send a committee to the President to inform him that the Americans on the Rand wanted to unite with the burghers to maintain the republic; that the general



MRS. PAUL KRUGER, WIFE OF THE TRANSVAAL PRESIDENT



OLIVE SCHREINER, ZEALOUS DEFENDER OF THE BOERS.



M. T. STEYN, PRESIDENT OF ORANGE FREE STATE.



KING DINIZULU, CHIEF OF THE ZULU TRIBE.



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. P. SYMONS, VICTOR OF DUNDEE.



GENERAL YULE, SUCCESSOR OF GENERAL SYMONS AT DUNDEE.



A FIELD BATTERY FORDING A SOUTH AFRICA RIVER IN A FLOOD.

sentiment of the Outlanders was against any alien or domestic usurpation of the country; that war would mean the ultimate overthrow of the republic, and the military occupation of the country by the English forces, an event that many of the English inhabitants of the Transvaal, as well as the Americans, would seriously deplore; and that with these serious consequences of war confronting them the necessity for just concessions upon the part of the Government was imperative.

R. E. Brown, J. S. Curtis and F. R. Lingham were selected to go to Pretoria. They went the next morning, returned in the evening, and addressed a big mass meeting assembled at the Chamber of Mines to hear the report of the committee's conference with President Kruger.

Mr. Brown said that the President had received them in the most kindly way. The Chief Justice acted as interpreter, and the Executive Council gave up an hour's time to attend the conference. Mr. Brown was spokesman for the American delegation. He admitted that hitherto the demands made by the Outlanders either ignored the rights of the burghers or were indefinite. He then outlined some proposed constitutional amendments whereby the Outlander could secure justice and at the same time not nullify the political status of the burgher or usurp any of his inalienable rights. Mr. Brown suggested further that the Rand should be represented by two members in the Volksraad (the upper house), and according to population in the Raad (the lower house). This would give the Dutch absolute control of the most important legislative body and a fair representation in the other, and would satisfy the Outlanders.

But President Kruger argued that the country belonged to the Boers, and that to admit outsiders to the franchise would mean the political extermination of the original burghers. He refused to make any concessions. The storm was coming, the President said, and he was prepared for it.

The next day the news of the entrance of a mounted force from Bechuanaland was confirmed amid great rejoicing and preparations for war in Johannesburg. It was learned that there were 800 picked men of the Bechuanaland mounted police under charge of Dr. Jameson, Colonel Gray, Colonel the Honorable White, and Major Sir John Willoughby, all brave men who had earned glory in fearless campaigns in Matabeleland. They were taking desperate chances to reach Johannesburg. They had two hundred miles to ride across a wild country,

where every Voortrekker is a skilled rider and an expert rifleman. All the Dutch farmers in the Transvaal are trained hunters. Their method of warfare is exactly like that of the American Indians. They never fight in the open veldt, but always ambush themselves behind rocks or trees. Yet they are a brave people. They feel that God is on their side; that they are waging a righteous war in defense of their homes, and that the Outlander has come as a wealthy highwayman with a powerful retinue to deprive them of their country.

On the day of the confirmation of the report of Jameson's intrepid entry President Kruger issued two proclamations, one removing the special duty on breadstuffs, providing for English instruction in the Johannesburg public schools, promising the franchise to all friends of the state in the present trouble, and agreeing to enact laws to solve the labor difficulties. The other proclamation warned all people in the Transvaal to remain within the pale of the law.

Meanwhile Dr. Jameson and his daring band were riding on, cutting telegraph wires and making prisoners of the fieldcornets, who went out and read messages to them from President Kruger commanding them to withdraw. The commandant at Marico also sent a message requesting Jameson to return to Bechuanaland. But Dr. Jameson was riding in with secret orders to Johannesburg.

In reply to the command from Marico to leave the country, Jameson wrote to the Landdrost, saying that he intended to proceed with his original plans, which had no hostile intentions against the people of the Transvaal. They were there, he said, in response to an invitation from the principal residents of the Rand, to assist them in their demands for justice and the ordinary rights of every citizen of a civilized state.

While Dr. Jameson was riding night and day to reach Johannesburg the army of Outlanders, about 1,500 strong, was being drilled and intrenched on the outskirts of the city. Day and night the Reform Committee sat in star chamber session.

What would be Johannesburg's attitude toward the fearless man who was coming to help them fight for liberty?

Solly B. Joel, Barney Barnato's representative; Abe Bailey, who gave valiant lip service to the cause; George Richards, who, as the representative of Cecil Rhodes, was mysterious and oracular; Major Bettington, one of the Transvaal "horrors of peace," and W. St. John

Carr, J. P. Fitzpatrick, F. L. Gray, A. R. Goldring, W. Hosken, A. P. Hillier, Charles Leonard, J. W. Leonard, Max Langermann, F. Lowery, E. H. V. Melville, H. F. Strange and V. Wolff all gave grave counsel. They argued that Dr. Jameson's advent would, no doubt, assure the success of the rebellion, and as successful rebels they would all share the glory of his incomparable ride through a wild, hostile country. Therefore, they argued that they should be waiting to receive him loyally when he arrived.

On the other hand, there were grave dangers that he would be hemmed in by the Boers, and either shot without mercy or taken and hanged by the Boers or by the British Government.

These gentlemen called attention to the insecure position the leaders in Johannesburg would be in if Dr. Jameson met with defeat, if prior to that catastrophe they made any show of lending him aid. He had been ordered back by the High Commissioner; his immediate master had tendered his resignation in ostensible repudiation of his campaign in the Transvaal. If he succeeded in reaching Johannesburg he would be the hero of the nineteenth century. If he failed he would be a filibuster who undertook a sad mission in defiance to higher powers at Cape Town. Thus reasoned the politic rebels of the Reform Committee.

There were some brave men in the city who did their best to save Johannesburg the shame of abandoning the intrepid cavalry commander whom the leading citizens of the Rand had sent. But perfidy in the guise of a wise expediency prevailed. It was decided to keep on fortifying the town. Then, if Dr. Jameson arrived, they could escort him in triumphal entrance through the city, and if he failed they would simply be in a position of defending themselves without having violated any of the terms of international peace. If the Boers attacked them they could, as British subjects, call in the help of the Cape Colony and Natal armies; the Boers could not constitutionally appeal to England, for they would be in a position of having fired on British subjects who were defending themselves against any hostile people, whether they were Boers or filibustering British rebels, riding as guerrillas through the republic.

Thus Johannesburg secretly prayed that Dr. Jameson would arrive, while ostensibly fortifying the city against him.

The wild ride of Dr. Jameson's 800 will be remembered in history.

They rode ninety miles a day, fighting their way from Malmani to Krugersdorp. At Naauwpoort, twenty miles from Johannesburg, 2,600 Boers, under Malan and Cronje, met Dr. Jameson. He refused to lay down his arms, and a pitched battle ensued. Dr. Jameson's men were weakened from hunger and thirst and lack of sleep. But they fought desperately. It was a brave conflict. Out of it Dr. Jameson, with a brave remnant of his band, rode victorious over the Boers. About fifteen miles from Johannesburg, near Krugersdorp, Fieldcornet Lieutenant Eloff and several hundred Boers were taken prisoners. The boom of the guns could be heard in Johannesburg, but not a man left the city to help the men from Bechuanaland.

Meanwhile the Boers were riding in from all directions toward Krugersdorp. The wagon roads from the Hooge Veldt, from the Vilgen River, from Blaauwbank, Lichtenburg and Gembokfontein, were lined with determined burghers carrying rifles and mounted on fleet horses. No effort was made by the insurrectionists to intercept them, and no assistance was sent to Dr. Jameson. Famished, having gone without food and sleep for forty-eight hours, almost out of ammunition, Dr. Jameson and his brave followers charged on until they could be seen from the tops of buildings at Johannesburg.

Between Krugersdorp and this city, about ten miles distant, near the Steyn estate mine, Dr. Jameson found himself surrounded by 6,000 Boers ambushed behind rocks and eucalyptus trees on the Kopjes hills, near Doornkop. There the fearless wreck of the eight hundred fought with futile desperation, expecting every moment to receive the promised assistance from Johannesburg.

While Dr. Jameson was thus left to fight a forlorn battle, great crowds gathered about the Gold Fields Building and clamoring for news about him. There were thousands who would have gone to his aid, but they were kept ignorant of his whereabouts and misinformed as to his condition. To satisfy the crowds it was announced that he had routed the Boers and would be within the city in two hours. This caused the greatest enthusiasm. Dr. Jameson is a popular hero in South Africa. He won a great name in connection with the famous march of the Six Hundred from Mashonaland to Buluwayo during the Matabele war.

The leaders of the Reform Committee kept all news from the insistent crowd as long as possible. When at length J. W. Leonard

solemnly announced that Dr. Jameson had been forced to surrender to save his brave men from utter annihilation there were many demonstrations of grief, which gave way to bitter indignation against Mr. Leonard and his confreres. Some of the crowd wanted to wreck the building and tar and feather the members of the committee.

The people of the Rand, with 15,000 armed men at their disposal, rested supinely while Dr. Jameson's gallant band was being butchered. They fought for two days without food or water or sleep, after having ridden nearly 200 miles without camping. They looked for help from the Rand, which did not come. They were trapped and caught within sight of the armed forces of Johannesburg.

The spectacle of the desertion of the brave men from Bechuanaland is a sad commentary on the cowardice and double-dealing of humanity, but it was not without its comedies. One of the comical incidents was the inglorious retreat of Colonel Bettington, with a troop of mounted men. When it was learned that Dr. Jameson was within an hour's ride of town, Bettington led sixty rebels to meet him. Had Dr. Jameson reached the city Colonel Bettington would have marched in at the head of the column and would have eclipsed Sir John Falstaff with stories of his opportune valor in going to the rescue. But when they reached the settlement called Florida they met a trooper with dispatches to the effect that Dr. Jameson was completely surrounded. The trooper, after imparting this news, hurried on to the city. Colonel Bettington and his men considered a moment and then turned and fled after the trooper. Two miles out of the city they took to the hills above Auckland Park, where they could get a good view of the conflict at the Steyn estate. There, out of harm's way, they saw Dr. Jameson's men sacrificed. Later Colonel Bettington rode majestically into the city and received the cheers of the populace.

There was a feeling of relief in several quarters January 6, when it was learned that the resignation of Cecil Rhodes as Premier of Cape Colony had been accepted and that he had been succeeded by Sir J. Gordon Spriggs.

The same day belated dispatches from Johannesburg began to arrive. They said that, January 1, there was intense excitement, the people hurrying into the town from the mines and suburbs. The Central Committee constituted itself a provisional government for the town

CHAPTER XXVI.

TWO ACCOUNTS OF THE RAID.

A citizen of the Transvaal, G. Von Deth, who was in New York in February, 1896, received letters from his country in relation to the Jameson raid, and also files of the Amsterdam (Holland) Telegraaf, which threw additional light upon some of the most important features of the affair. The facts published in the Amsterdam Telegraaf were received by it from special correspondents and official sources in the Transvaal. Mr. Von Deth said:

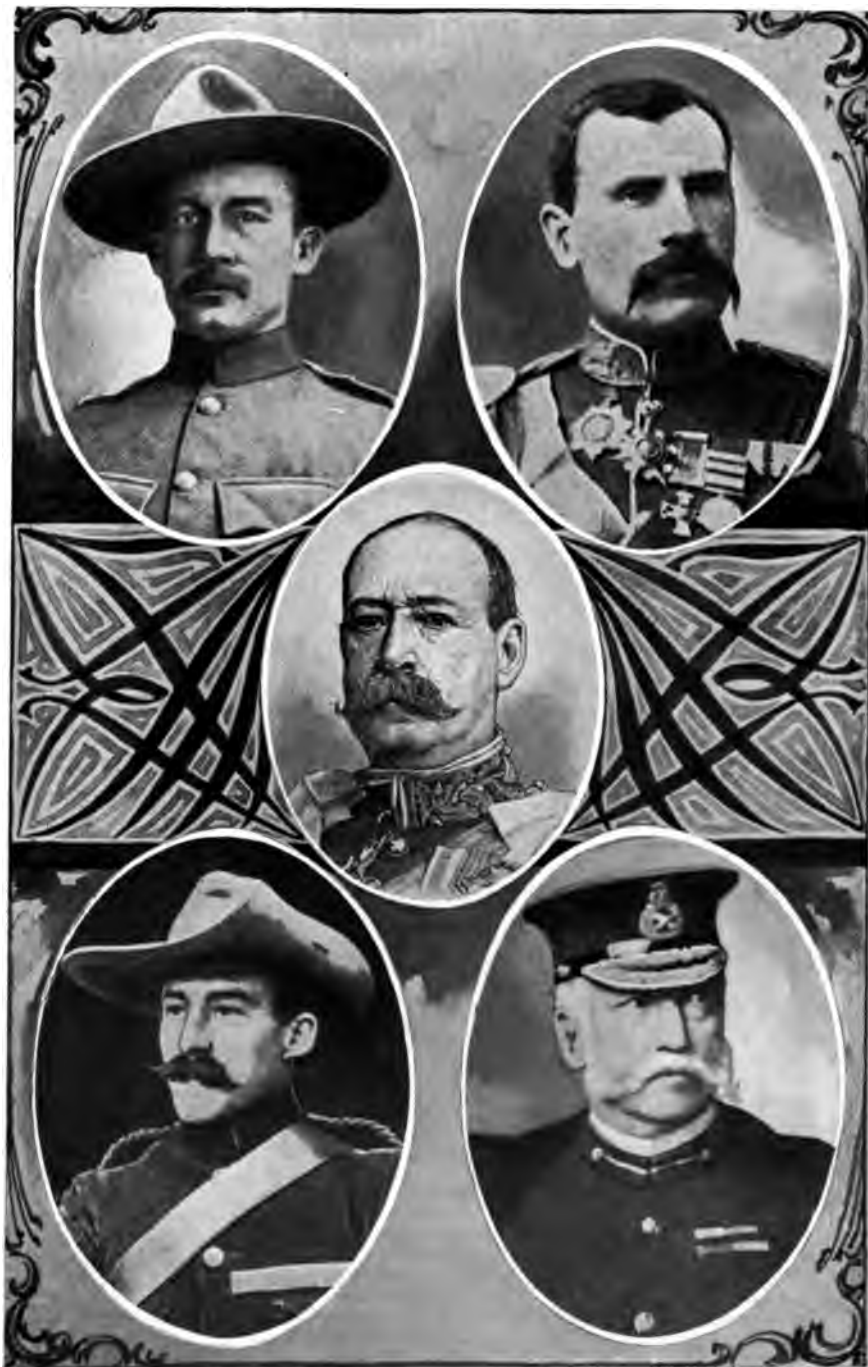
Jameson and his fellow-traitors, who have just arrived in England, knew well that it was to their interests to maintain silence in regard to their conspiracy, and accordingly they agreed to say nothing for publication. He departed from his resolution in only one instance, and then he uttered a falsehood. He said he had killed at least 280 Boers, whereas it was officially reported by Sir Jacobus De Wet, the British agent at Pretoria, that there were killed in all five Boers. This was also cabled to Lord Salisbury by Sir Hercules Robinson, as soon as he arrived at Pretoria.

All that Jameson said while in Africa about his filibustering expedition had the same sort of basis.

But there are facts which have never yet been published, and which throw a new light over the whole history—facts which must shame every civilized nation, but particularly England, which pretends always to be the first to confer European civilization upon savage tribes.

It is well known how Matabeleland was conquered by the Chartered Company. They simply went to the poor Matabeles with Maxim guns and killed nearly the whole of the badly-armed Matabele nation. When but a few of them were left the Chartered Company declared themselves masters and owners of that country.

To treat the Boers to the same kind of civilization was the purpose of Dr. Jameson. Yet knowing by experience that the Boers were better shooters than the Matabele Kaffirs, the whole force of Dr. Jameson was armed with explosive bullets. Many thousands of cartridges loaded with explosive bullets were found in the possession of the prisoners and also on the battlefield. They were all of the latest pattern.



OFFICERS IN THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA SERVICE.
 Colonel R. S. S. Baden-Powell. Brigadier-General H. A. Macdonald.
 A Typical Veteran British Officer.
 Captain Rivers. Major-General Sir Walter Butler.



INSPECTION BY THE COMMANDANT OF THE ASSEMBLED "COMMANDO" OF BOERS IN THE MARKET-PLACE OF A DOORP.

General Joubert has satisfied himself personally that these explosive cartridges were all of the dimensions used by the Jameson troops.

The day after Jameson was made prisoner the Transvaal Government also found in Johannesburg 1,000,000 explosive cartridges of this same pattern. The Transvaal Government deemed it proper and pertinent to send packages of those explosives to the consuls of all the nations which were represented in South Africa, with the request that they be forwarded to their respective governments, with the evidence that such explosives were used by Jameson and his men and would have been used by the Johannesburg Outlanders if Jameson had met with better success. The nations so represented were Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Austria, the United States, Russia and Sweden.

An investigation by the government showed that those explosive cartridges were so destructive that every one would have killed six men in case it had been fired into the ranks of any enemy. Such cartridges had never before been used by any nation in war, except by the English against negroes in order to civilize them the more quickly. They are designed more particularly for the killing of large and vicious game, and their employment in human warfare is cowardly and barbarous.

In their struggle with Jameson's allies, the Marico Kaffirs found papers belonging to and lost by Jameson. They were brought straight to President Kruger. The news from Pretoria had not stated where and by whom these papers were written, and how they were sent to Jameson, but there is not much room for doubt as to their source and the channel by which they reached Jameson from Cape Town was Cecil Rhodes, as shown by their envelopes. Their contents were as follows, exactly translated from English to Dutch, and now again in English:

"NOTES: Ammunition—12 cases of ammunition will be found in each railway truck from Cape Town; 8,000 Maxim cartridges, 100 cartridges for the heavy guns in the Scottish cars, and for each man 303 cartridges, divided as follows: 50 in the shoulder belt and 30 in each pocket.

"Horses: All the salted horses will be lent by the government and should be returned after the struggle in good condition, or be replaced by other salted horses.

"Payment: Every man will get a check the same day the troops will leave Mafeking.

"Rations: Twelve cases of meat biscuit will be placed in each Scotch car, besides three gallons of 'dop' salt and a certain quantity of salve for wounded men.

"The other arrangements to be made by Mr. Laky.

"Force: G. 54; K. 65; F. 60.

"Instructions for the cutting of telegraph wires: Messrs. Dew and Wood must get to Malmani at 3 P. M., December 28; they should cut the wires then between Malmani and Malmani-oog and also between Malmani and Zeerust on the road to Krugersdorp. The wire must be cut five miles on each side of Malmani before 9 P. M. of the same day. Ten yards must be cut out and hidden in the field, so that nobody will be able to find it.

"The troops must be at Malmani-oog at 5 A. M., December 29. Everybody will wear citizens' clothes, and in no case anything belonging to his regiment. McGun and Gatesman will ride to Zeerust about 1 A. M., December 20, to cut the wires between Zeerust and Rustenburg. Very important: Must be cut as above about five or six miles from Zeerust and again five or six miles further on. When that is done they will ride to the lead mines and wait there the arrival of the troops."

Some of these papers were lost or torn to pieces, and part of the writing was illegible.

I have it on good authority that within a month or so it will be proved that Cecil Rhodes was the head and soul of the whole Transvaal movement, and for this reason resigned as prime minister of Cape Colony as soon as the surrender of Jameson was wired to him, so that it should not be said that the government had done all these things, but Cecil Rhodes personally, and privately, as the promoter of the Chartered Company.

The sympathy of the Cape Colony farmers for the Transvaal Boers is stronger than might be supposed, and as England is quietly preparing for war with the Transvaal she may in due time meet with a good deal of resistance in her own dominion and from her own subjects, as hundreds of them were ready to take their rifles and go to the Transvaal to help their fellow-farmers. Hundreds of them signed a letter to President Kruger declaring their sympathy for him and for all the

Transvaal Boers. The above facts should be taken into consideration by the English Government before they go too far.

I have received the following letter from the Transvaal, written by an officer in the volunteer corps of the republic, at Johannesburg:

“Johannesburg, January 5, 1896.

“Dear Friend: From the newspapers I have sent you from time to time you have learned the teasing language used against our government by the English papers. We know now what was hidden behind their scolding and raging. December 31 I was disturbed at home by a violent knocking at my door. My captain stood before me, having brought 5,000 cartridges and 100 rifles, swords, etc., with him in his carriage. He gave me all this ammunition and said, ‘For God’s sake be quiet; take it all into your room; Johannesburg is in revolt and has elected a new government; we are all over surrounded by spies; our arsenal in the prison (an hour’s distance from Johannesburg) is no longer safe, and the commander of the jail is busily engaged in betraying our corps.’

“He left with his carriage in a hurry. At 10 A. M. a general flight of women and children; they were hastily transported in the coal and cattle cars. With fifty of my boys I had to guard the railway station, for hundreds of Kaffirs were there demanding tickets so that they could get away. Screaming and yelling women and children tried to press through the immense crowd, while thousands of voices were heard cursing and execrating the Englishmen. At 11 A. M. the general beating of drums was heard for the assembling of the volunteers. At 11:30 A. M. they stood all in line in uniform, well armed and provided with cartridges. Orders arrived at 4 P. M. They were: ‘Go at full speed to the new jail to protect our police and the town property there.’

“With rolling drums we passed right across the town, and at 5 P. M. arrived at the new jail, where we were received with loud cheers and thankful hearts. At 12 o’clock, at the end of the old and the beginning of the new year, an attack with Maxim guns was expected at the jail. The police had left Johannesburg with 250 men to join us in defending our arsenal. At 9 A. M. arrived a horseman, telling our commander that Maxim guns had been set up on the hills and that firing would begin immediately. As the jail itself is built on a hill our

position was very dangerous. Many women and children of all nationalities were flocking to us praying for protection from the bullets. Soon 180 women and 80 children were stowed away inside the jail; the poor creatures had been knocking about the whole night. No shooting was heard, however, and at last, worn out with watching and preparation, we were allowed to lie down on the stones around the jail on the outside. How thankful we were to Mrs. H., who brought us hot tea and other refreshments.

"Exactly at midnight a courier arrived; the English were advancing in three parties towards the jail. 'To arms,' was the order, and in less than five minutes the whole of the forces stood ready to fire. Ten minutes of excitement. Another courier. The English retired toward Johannesburg. At last we saw the daylight coming up. Then our commander showed us that we were surrounded on all sides by the English.

"January 1.—The whole of the conspiracy and revolt became clear to us. More was discovered than I can write to you in a long letter. In brief I will tell you that all the big guns had been smuggled in in big steam boilers, and so passed the custom officers. Hundreds of beer barrels had passed full of cartridges. Safes were brought in full of ammunition. One big safe for George Farrar could not arrive in time, because the custom house was suspicious about its tremendous weight and Mr. Farrar said that the keys had been forgotten and were still in England. After the fight this safe was taken to Pretoria and forcibly opened. There were 160 revolvers and 20,000 cartridges in it.

"An English steamer partly loaded with ammunition for the Transvaal Government was said to have broken down, and kept at sea until all was over. Later it was proved nothing had been the matter with the steamer, only she had arrived near the coast too soon and was detained so that the Transvaal Government would be short of ammunition.

"In steam boilers, beer barrels, and other things, 20,000 rifles and eighteen big guns were brought into Johannesburg, besides trains loaded with ammunition. Twenty millions of dollars had been spent by the English to be well equipped to meet the Boers, known as the hardest fighters in the world. Besides, the head of the police force was bribed; the attorney-general was a traitor.

"January 4.—I have been very busy distributing clothing and uni-

forms to volunteers, who arrived in hundreds every hour. A tremendous bustle in Johannesburg. Exercising, drilling, and assembling of the insurgents. Their force on the square now is 800 men; they have eleven big guns, seventeen Maxim guns, two fortifications and numerous stores of dynamite which have been kept hidden by them for years. The situation is critical in the highest degree.

"Evening.—I am in my own house again; 5,000 mounted Boers are ready to attack Johannesburg the first thing in the morning.

"Fire-rockets are going up on three sides of the town. A tremendous knocking at my window; I opened and learned that President Kruger had given his ultimatum, declaring that if Johannesburg did not surrender unconditionally within twenty-four hours he would take the town by force. The volunteers must try to join the old police force in the new jail, even if we have to break through the lines of the enemy.

"January 7.—Johannesburg has surrendered unconditionally.

"In a cable dispatch from Pretoria to the Transvaal Minister in Holland, January 8, it was stated that only a few hours before the attack of Jameson, the latter had a conference with Cecil Rhodes."

A man named Philip Gershel was the first to arrive in New York from the Transvaal after Dr. Jameson's raid. He was a member of Dr. Jameson's band and fought with him in the Matabele war. He received a gift of land from the doctor at its conclusion, and has ever since taken a prominent part in the counsels of the Outlanders. Gershel reached New York, February 4, 1896. He told the following tale:

The uprising was planned more than a year ago. The provisions and arms were smuggled in, and nothing could have prevented the success of Jameson but for the treachery of those whom Jameson thought his best friends.

In spite of the failure, within a few years all that stretch of country, including Basutoland, Mashonaland, Swaziland and the Transvaal will be one great English settlement. The combined territory is more than three times as large as Cape Colony. It is rich in mines, probably the richest in the world, and that way, in a measure, explains why England wants to control it.

Whatever Jameson did was fully known to Cecil Rhodes. Nothing was done without the latter's advice, and what he knew was known to the English Government, in my opinion.

Had he won, as looked certain at one time, Jameson and not Kruger would now be President of the South African Republic.

It is not right, as has been remarked, that the Boers are Germans. They are the descendants of the people who settled here from Holland five hundred years ago. They hate the English; and would not give an Englishman a drop of water to save his life. Although they have a great country, they raise nothing but vegetables and cattle. Everything else is imported.

In Johannesburg and its surroundings there are over seventy miles of reefing, and all of it is a gold mine. The reefing runs east and west, and by boring ore pockets have been found to go as deep as 2,000 feet. The deepest mine so far worked is on the Robinson estate, where ore was dug up 250 feet below the surface. It is the same with the Bualwayo Mine, which employs several hundred miners.

The whole country around there is well worth fighting for, and I believe that as a result of the last fight, however abortive it proved, Kruger will be forced to make concessions. It will be only a matter of time, however, in my judgment, when England will have it all.

CHAPTER XXVII.

TRIAL OF THE REFORMERS.

John Hays Hammond, the American member of the indicted Reform Committee of Johannesburg, was released from jail, at Pretoria, February 5, 1896, and at about the same time the principal reformers were placed on trial there, charged with inciting to rebellion and with high treason. Evidence was presented showing that the rebels were well drilled and armed and that earthworks were erected outside Johannesburg. The mining commissioner of Johannesburg testified that the Outlanders held the town with the avowed intention of opposing the Transvaal Government. He added that members of the Reform Committee had said within his hearing, "the country will soon be ours from Cape Town to the Zambesi." Later, the commissioner testified that he saw a document containing the conditions for enlisting volunteers to fight the Transvaal.

Another witness, a printer, testified to receiving from the Reform Committee a proclamation announcing that Dr. Jameson was expected in Johannesburg, that a disturbance might ensue and that, therefore, a provisional government was necessary.

Police Commissioner Schutte, during the course of his evidence, said the Transvaal Government withdrew the police from Johannesburg in order to avoid a collision with the Outlanders.

Jacobus Demellion testified that the republic's flag was hoisted on the Gold Fields' offices December 28, and men were enlisted. Colonel Rhodes, brother of Cecil Rhodes, told the witness the Outlanders had brought the country to its prosperous condition and it was hard for them to be governed by the stupid Boers. They had asked Dr. Jameson to come to Johannesburg to preserve the peace and to protect them. Later the witness heard Mr. Leonard make a speech to the crowd, in which he said:

"We do not have equal rights with the Boers. Our petitioners are treated with contempt. We now demand our rights with arms in our hands. We want a republican government, and not the autocratic government at Pretoria. All who want to fight for their rights and for freedom can receive arms."

John Keith, an American employed by the Geldenhuis Company, testified that he was induced to join the George Washington Corps under pretext of protecting life and property and of supporting the Transvaal flag. He was enrolled by Captain Carlen.

"Were you paid?" he was asked.

"No," was the reply.

"Was any salary promised to you?"

"No. We were told that our corps would be the first to march to Pretoria to fight the Boers. I thereupon cleared off, as I was born under a republican flag myself. I and others tore the colors off our arms and we were all placed under arrest. The officers of the corps took me handcuffed to the Chamber of Mines, where they ill-treated me and tried to frighten me by thrusting a gun before me. They thought me an Englishman, but I am a free-born American citizen."

"How long were you detained?" was then asked.

"Until 11 o'clock the next day."

"Why did they ill-treat you?"

"Because I wanted to fight for the Transvaal."

"What was the strength of the corps?"

"About a hundred; very few Americans. There were Australians and Canadians—in fact, everything but Americans. We did skirmishing drill on Wanderer's Ground, but we had no arms."

Jerome Sharp was then placed upon the stand, and was asked:

"Were you the lieutenant of the American corps?"

He replied: "No, I only knew of its existence through the newspapers."

Witnesses, February 10, certified that the National Union opened a bank account in the name of a "Development Syndicate," including Colonel Rhodes, Messrs. Hammond, Phillips and Fitzpatrick.

Mr. Schumacher, the "Development Syndicate" agent, February 11, admitted that he had destroyed the account after the directors had been arrested. Later in the course of the trial Schumacher refused to reply to a question. He was arrested for contempt of court and fined \$100.

A bicyclist named Celliers testified that he carried a dispatch from Colonel Rhodes to Dr. Jameson, at Krugersdorp. He lost Dr. Jameson's reply when he was arrested by the Boers.

Evidence was adduced February 12 showing that the proclama-

tion which, according to the testimony of a printer, who previously gave evidence, was placed in his hands and put in type, but never issued, mentioned Mr. Charles Leonard, who was wanted in Cape Town in connection with the Transvaal outbreak, as president of the provisional government which was to have been organized. The proclamation also stated that the forces organized for carrying out the plans of the rebels exceeded two thousand men.

While trial was in progress, the letter which was alleged to have induced Dr. Jameson to invade the Transvaal, and which was found upon him when he was captured, was read. The following is the text in full:

"Johannesburg, December 20.

"Dr. Jameson—

"Dear Sir: The position of matters in this state has become so critical that at no distant period there will be a conflict between the Government and the Outlander population. It is scarcely necessary for us to recapitulate what is now a matter of history. Suffice it that the position of thousands of Englishmen and others is rapidly becoming intolerable. Not satisfied with making the Outlanders pay-virtually the whole of the revenue of the country, while denying them representation, the policy has been steadily to encroach upon the liberty of the subject and to undermine the security of property to such an extent as to leave a very deep-seated cause for discontent and danger.

"A foreign corporation of Hollanders is to a considerable extent controlling our destinies, and, in conjunction with the Boer leaders, is endeavoring to cast them in a mould which is wholly foreign to the genius of the people. Every public act betrays the most positive hostility not only to everything English but to the neighboring states as well. In short, the internal policy of the government is such as to arouse into antagonism not only practically the whole body of Outlanders, but a large number of the Boers, while its external policy has exasperated the neighboring states, causing the possibility of great danger to the peace and independence of the republic.

"Public feeling is in a condition of smouldering discontent. All the petitions of the people have been refused with a greater or less degree of contempt, and in the debate on the franchise petition, signed by nearly 40,000, one member challenged the Outlanders to fight for the right they asked for, and not a single member spoke against him. Not

to go into details we may say that the government have called into existence all the elements necessary for armed conflict.

"The one desire of the people here is for fair play and the maintenance of their independence and the preservation of their public liberties, without which life is not worth having. The government denies these things, and violates the national sense of Englishmen at every turn. What we have to consider is what will be the condition of things here, in the event of conflict, with thousands of unarmed men, women and children of our race. They will be at the mercy of well-armed Boers, while property of enormous value will be in the greatest peril. We cannot contemplate the future without the gravest apprehension, and feel that we are justified in taking steps to prevent the shedding of blood, to ensure the protection of our rights.

"It is under these circumstances that we feel constrained to call upon you to come to our aid should a disturbance occur here. The circumstances are so extreme that we cannot avoid this step, and we cannot but believe that you will not fail to come to the rescue of the people who would be so situated. We guarantee any expense that may be incurred by you in helping us, and ask you to believe that nothing but the sternest necessity has prompted this appeal. We are, yours faithfully,

"Chas. Leonard,
"Francis Rhodes,
"Lionel Phillips,
"John Hays Hammond,
"George Farrar."

Manager Standard, of the Diggers' News, March 11, testified that John Hays Hammond and John Barr, two of the prisoners, came to the offices of that paper and urged that the editor be discharged on the ground that he had written articles tending to incite the populace to rebellion.

William Carlin deposed that when the Washington Corps was formed he went to the Reform Committee at the Gold Fields' offices and made arrangements to conduct it, but he did not recognize the members of the committee owing to the darkness. The men were paid in checks, which were left at Tattersalls, but he could not remember who had signed them. The corps had been disbanded on receipt

of orders addressed to it by Colonel Farrar. The witness had been instructed throughout by Farrar and by Colonel Rhodes, who, he thought, had arranged matters with the police of the town.

An employe of the "Simmer and Jack" mine, March 18, testified to seeing arms and Maxim guns unloaded from oil tanks. He estimated that 300 cases of rifles and 24 Maxim guns were received.

Colonel Rhodes, Lionel Phillips and George Farrar, three members of the Johannesburg Reform Committee, pleaded guilty, April 24, of high treason. The other members of the same committee pleaded guilty of treason, but without hostile intent against the independence of the Transvaal. John Hays Hammond pleaded guilty of high treason, April 27, following the example of other leaders of the committee. He was ill when they made their pleas.

In view of the plea of guilty, there was no cross examination, April 27, to elicit testimony to show ultimate responsibility for the Jameson raid. But counsel for the defense read a statement signed by John Hays Hammond, Lionel Phillips, George Farrar and Colonel Francis Rhodes, reviewing the history of the agitation for redress of alleged Outlander grievances. The statement recited that, because of rumors that the Boers were going to attack Johannesburg, the signers asked Dr. Jameson to come, but they deplored the mistake he made in coming when there was no urgent need for his presence. They maintained that their action throughout the crisis was not hostile to the Republic, its officials having been protected and life and property generally preserved.

They sent officers, December 27, the statement also said, to forbid Dr. Jameson's movement.

In addition to this statement, telegrams were handed in, which passed between Mr. Beit, of the Chartered South Africa Company, and Dr. Jameson, Colonel Rhodes and others, but not Cecil Rhodes, then premier of Cape Colony.

Counsel spoke two hours in behalf of the defense, concluding:

"If the edge of the sword is to be used it will cause eternal misery in the Republic; but should the flat side be employed, it will usher in peace and good will."

Messrs. Hammond, Rhodes, Phillips and Farrar were sentenced to death, April 28, the remaining fifty-nine prisoners (members of the Johannesburg Reform Committee) were fined \$10,000 each, sentenced

"For a number of years endeavors have been made to obtain by constitutional means redress of grievances under which the Outlander population labor. Newcomers have asked for no more than is considered the right of immigrants by all other governments in South Africa, under which every man on reasonable conditions can become a citizen of a state, while here alone the policy is pursued by which the first settlers retain the exclusive right of government. Petitions supported by the signatures of some 4,000 men were ignored, and when it was found that we could not get a fair and reasonable hearing, that provisions already deemed obnoxious and unfair were being made more stringent, and that we were being debarred forever from obtaining rights which in other countries are freely granted, it was then realized that we would never get redress until we should make a demonstration of force to support our claims. Certain provision was made regarding arms and ammunition, and a letter was written to Dr. Jameson in which he was asked to come to our aid under certain circumstances.

"On December 26 the Outlanders' manifesto was published, and it was then our intention to make a final appeal for redress at a public meeting, which was to have been held January 6. In consequence of matters that came to our knowledge we sent, on December 27, Major Heany by train, via Kimberley, and Captain Holden across country, to forbid any movement on Dr. Jameson's part. On the afternoon of December 30 we learned from Government sources that Dr. Jameson had crossed the frontier. We assumed that he had come in good faith to help us, probably misled by some of the exaggerated rumors which were then in circulation. We were convinced, however, that the Government and the burghers would not, in the excitement of the moment, believe that we had not invited Dr. Jameson in, and there was no course open to us but to prepare to defend ourselves if attacked and at the same time to spare no effort to effect a peaceful settlement. It became necessary to form some organization for our protection and the maintenance of order, since, in the excitement caused by the news of Dr. Jameson's coming, serious disturbances would be likely to occur, and it was evident that the Government organization could not deal with the people without serious risks of a conflict.

"The Reform Committee was formed Monday night, December 30, and it was intended to include such men of influence as cared to associate themselves with the movement. The object for which it was



MINERS BATHING IN THE KIMBERLEY COMPOUND.



THE BOER FORT AT BLOEMFONTEIN.



INTERIOR OF THE RAADZAAL AT BLOEMFONTEIN.

formed is best shown in the first notice, viz: 'Notice is hereby given that this committee adheres to the National Union manifesto and reiterates its desire to maintain the independence of the republic. The fact that rumors are in course of circulation to the effect that a force crossed the Bechuanaland frontier renders it necessary to take active steps for the defense of Johannesburg and the preservation of order. The committee earnestly desire that inhabitants should refrain from taking any action which can be construed as an overt act of hostility against the Government.

"By order of the committee.

"J. Percy Fitzpatrick, Secretary.'

"Evidence taken at the preliminary examination will show that order was maintained by this committee during a time of intense excitement, and through the action of this committee no aggressive steps whatever were taken against the Government, but, on the contrary, the property of the Government was protected and its officials were not interfered with. It is our firm belief that had no such committee been formed the intense excitement caused by Dr. Jameson's entry would have brought about utter chaos in Johannesburg. It has been alleged that we armed natives. This is absolutely untrue, and is disposed of by the fact that during the crisis upward of 20,000 white men applied to us for arms and were unable to get them.

"On Tuesday morning, December 31, we hoisted the flag of the South African Republic, and every man bound himself to maintain the independence of the republic. On the same day the Government withdrew its police voluntarily from the town, and we preserved perfect order. During the evening of that day Messrs. Marais and Malan presented themselves as delegates from the Executive Council. They came, to use their own words, to offer us the olive branch, and they told us that if we would send a deputation to Pretoria to meet a commission appointed by the Government we should probably obtain practically all that we asked for in our manifesto. Our deputation met the Government Commission, consisting of Chief Justice Kotze, Judge Ameshoff and Mr. Hock, member of the Executive Council. On our behalf our deputation frankly avowed a knowledge of Jameson's presence on the border, and of his intentions, by arrangement with us,

to assist in case of extremity. With a full knowledge of this arrangement, and with the knowledge that we were in arms in agitation for our rights, the Government Commission handed us a resolution by Executive Council, of which the following is the purport :

"Sir Hercules Robinson had offered his services with a view to a peaceful settlement. The Government of the South African Republic has accepted his offer. Pending his arrival no hostile steps will be taken against Johannesburg, provided Johannesburg takes no hostile action against the Government. Under the terms of a certain proclamation, recently issued by the President, grievances will be earnestly considered.

"We acted in perfect good faith with the Government, believing it to be their desire, as it was ours, to avert bloodshed, and believing it to be their intention to give us redress, which was implied. In the earnest consideration of grievances, there can be no better evidence of our earnest desire to repair what we regarded as a mistake on the part of Dr. Jameson, than the following offer, which our deputation authorized by resolution of the committee laid before the Government Commission: 'If Government will permit Dr. Jameson to come into Johannesburg unmolested the committee will guarantee with their persons, if necessary, that he will leave again peacefully as soon as possible.'

"We faithfully carried out the agreement that we should commit no act of hostility against the Government. We ceased all active operations for defense of the town against any attack, and we did everything in our power to prevent any collision between the burghers, an attempt in which our efforts were happily successful.

"On telegraphic advice of the result of the interview of our deputation with the Government Commission we dispatched Mr. Race, a member of the committee, as escort to the courier carrying the High Commissioner's dispatch to Dr. Jameson in order to assure ourselves that the dispatch would reach its destination.

"On the following Saturday, January 4, the High Commissioner arrived in Pretoria. On Monday, January 6, the following telegram was sent us from Pretoria:

" 'From H. M. S. Agent to Reform Committee, Johannesburg: I am directed to inform you that the High Commissioner met the Presi-

dent of the Executive Council and the judges to-day. The President announced the decision of the Government to be that Johannesburg must lay down its arms unconditionally as a condition precedent to a discussion and consideration of its grievances.'

"The High Commissioner endeavored to obtain some indication of the steps which would be taken in the event of disarmament, but without success, it being intimated that the Government had nothing more to say on this subject than had already been embodied in the President's proclamation. The High Commissioner inquired whether any decision had been come to as regards the disposal of prisoners, and received a reply in the negative. The President said that as his burghers to the number of 8,000 had been collected and could not be asked to remain indefinitely, he must request a reply, yes or no, to this ultimatum within twenty-four hours.

"On the following day De Wet, Her Majesty's agent, met us in committee and handed to us the following wire from the High Commissioner to Sir J. De Wet at Johannesburg:

"'It is urgent you should inform the Johannesburg people that I consider that if they lay down their arms they will be acting loyally and honorably, and that if they do not comply with my request they forfeit all claim to sympathy from Her Majesty's Government and from the British subjects throughout the world.'

"As the lives of Jameson and the prisoners were practically at stake on this and an assurance given in the Executive Council's resolution we laid down our arms on the 6th, 7th and 8th of January. On the 9th we were arrested, and have since been under arrest in Pretoria, a period of three and a half months.

"We admit the responsibility for the action taken by us. We frankly avowed it at the time of negotiations with the Government. When we were informed that the services of the High Commissioner had been accepted with a view to a peaceful settlement, we submit that we kept faith in every detail in the arrangement with the Government. As we did all that was humanly possible to protect both the state and Dr. Jameson from the consequences of his action, we claim that we have committed no breach of law which was not known to the Government at the time that earnest consideration of our grievances were promised.

"We can now only lay the bare facts before the court and submit to the judgment that may be passed upon us.

"Lionel Phillips,
"Francis Rhodes,
"George Farrar.

"Pretoria, April 24, 1896.

"I entirely concur with the above statement.

"John Hays Hammond."

The declaration was also read in Dutch by Mr. Wessels.

With reference to the others, Mr. Wessels read their declaration, which was as follows:

"We have heard the statement made by Lionel Phillips and we fully agree with what he has said as regards the objects for which the Reform Committee was formed. Since the formation of the committee we have worked with these gentlemen, and the only object all had in view was to use the utmost endeavor to avert bloodshed, but, at the same time, to endeavor to obtain redress of what we consider very serious grievances."

Advocate Wessels also admitted, on behalf of Francis Rhodes, that he was mentioned under another name in one of the telegrams produced in court. Mr. Wessels intimated that he would make his speech for the defense in the afternoon. This was agreed to, and the court adjourned till 2 o'clock.

The defense of the accused was opened by Mr. Wessels, senior counsel for the reformers, in a speech which lasted exactly two hours. Mr. Wessels, after observing that he would endeavor to make his address as brief as possible, proceeded to say:

"My Lord, before going into the circumstances of the case, I purpose inquiring what punishment may be meted out in this republic. Are we to follow the laws of the old Romans or our own statutes? If in the latter case, then we need not apply the statutes of the old Roman-Dutch laws. I proceed to say that should the principle be laid down that the Roman-Dutch laws demand a severer punishment, and that milder punishment is demanded by the laws of this country, I would request, if the court shall see fit so to do, to apply the milder punishment.

"In treating this important subject it is absolutely necessary to give a brief review of the laws since the time of the ancient Romans. In the old Roman republic the penalty for commitment of high treason was as not having been committed against the person of a sovereign, but, as in this country, where no king exists, the crime was punishable for treason against the state. Justice soon saw that the laws of a cruel, barbarous time were not adaptable to us. Moreover, the United Netherlands was not an autocratic republic, but desired to establish a republican system.

"Afrikanders are not a blood-thirsty nation, and as long as I have resided in the republic, I have not found many death sentences carried out. It may be said that the people of this republic have laid down in their statute books hard old laws, which are to be repealed and replaced by milder laws. In the thirty-three articles it is enacted that a person who conspired with any foreign power for the purpose of bringing the state into subjection to such power, was liable to a fine of 500 rix dollars and banishment, and if he returned he was liable to the punishment of outlawry. It is not our object to determine what punishment was meant to be inflicted by the legislature on those who conspired with or granted assistance to foreign powers. The question to be decided is whether the sentence of death is still in existence in this republic.

"It is certain, however, that it does still exist, but for this misdemeanor a person can be transported across the border, but can certainly not be awarded the death sentence. It was the intention of the law to inflict milder punishment. On May 10, 1864, confiscation of goods was abolished as the legal code of Holland, and our laws have been brought into conformity therewith, thereby showing a tendency to abolish barbarous enactments. Why? Because this republic is not a kingdom. The President or members of the Executive Council are nothing more than the state impersonated, and here the state is the sovereign power. If the President were attacked it would not be directed against his personality. This is the republican spirit.

"According to the indictment Jameson is neither king, governor nor ruler. It is not alleged by the accuser that he is such. The prisoners only admitted that they imported guns. If that is so they cannot be punished with the extreme penalty. There could be no question of a conspiracy with sovereignties. If the point was laid down that banishment is applicable, then that would be the severest punishment

that can be applied. The accused did not plead guilty on the second count. They did not ask Jameson to come across our border with a hostile intention."

The judge said: "Count No. 1 of the indictment says that they did conspire with Jameson to do so."

"It does not say that they conspired with Jameson to cause an inroad," replied Mr. Wessels. He then showed telegrams to prove the statement of the four accused leaders that they tried their best to prevent Jameson and his hostile troops coming over the border; that persons were sent to forbid him to come, and that they are only indirectly guilty of the charge alleged.

Mr. Wessels continued:

"It is for Your Lordship to say what punishment should be inflicted. It is doubtful whether any one conspiring with England can be punished with the same penalty."

Judge: "But a band of freebooters is far more dangerous."

Mr. Wessels: "I can only observe that it is too detestable to think of passing death sentences. It would surprise the populace. The question is, is it compulsory for the court to confiscate property under section 148 of act 191 of 1895? I think not. The word 'shall' occurring in certain sections of the gold law was construed by Judge De Korte to mean 'may' in regard to the powers of the mining commissioner; in all cases it was intended to lay down the principle of practicing cruelty only in the interests of the republic. It rests with Your Lordship to determine whether confiscation is necessary.

"The spirit of the law certainly prescribes banishment of a misdemeanant from the republic, but to apply banishment to the above-named four would be too cruel to think of.

"In regard to the remainder of the accused, they have pleaded guilty to having distributed arms, etc. They are in no sense connected with Jameson. I would request you to measure the punishment according to the measure of the guilt. It is not time to criticise the actions of the accused in throwing up earthworks or fortifications, but it will be necessary for the purpose of their defense to review circumstances in this state during the last ten years—to the time of the last disturbance. During that time Your Lordship was in an adjoining republic. There the laws are different. An alien may cross a bridge and assist in the government of state here, but Your Lordship must be

aware that the relations between the Government and Outlanders were much strained, especially during the last four months. They thought they had certain grievances, and it is sufficient for our purpose to state that the Leonard manifesto contains a summary of the men's grievances. It is necessary to observe that they were not freebooters, or that they desired booty or to lend themselves to the commitment of crime. They did no more than hundreds of men of our time have done. For instance, there is our burgher war. They were not freebooters, but they have come here to establish their domiciles and become part of the state. Neither had they any connection with the Chartered Company, nor did they repudiate the rights of the burghers."

The judge said the accused had pleaded guilty to the charge of having brought the independence or safety of this republic into danger.

Mr. Wessels said that Phillips did not say so.

The judge said: "I think he did."

"It is for Your Lordship to decide what crime they have committed. It is certain they have done nothing to endanger the independence of the country. Why did they call Jameson in? It was an unfortunate step, but they took measures to insure their safety. Petition after petition was rejected, and it was made an impossibility to become a burgher."

"This state demonstration was made," said the judge, "and men were armed. Jameson was at once with the four accused. There are the declarations of Phillips and of his speech. These tend to show how much in earnest they were."

Mr. Wessels said:

"Your Lordship has seen the telegrams. It would be as well to go through these to trace what connection exists between Cecil Rhodes and Jameson. I know of no proof of what emanated in the brain of Cecil Rhodes or Mr. Jameson to commit any such act, nor is there any proof that the Chartered Company intended to bring the safety of the republic into danger. If the above-named four men conspired with Jameson to do so circumstances would probably prove it. Now, Messrs. Phillips, Farrar, Rhodes and Hammond are important men. Mr. Phillips is known throughout South Africa for his stupendous work in connection with the mining industry at Johannesburg. Messrs. Farrar and Hammond are men of weight. These are the men who have ever studied the interests of the republic, and have endeavored to

promote those interests in different parts of the world. They would not think for a moment of injuring Johannesburg. The name of Rhodes is sufficient to make one quake in one's shoes. There can be no doubt that Johannesburg will not receive Cecil Rhodes with open arms. Thus far he has borne no love for Johannesburg. Why would accused then call in a force of 580 men over the boundaries of this state? Was it possible to overthrow the Government with such a small body of men? Could they not just as well have smuggled these men in by train in the same manner as the guns were smuggled in? Mr. Phillips has declared that there were only 2,500 rifles in Johannesburg. Twenty thousand persons asked for arms, and they could not obtain them. A document handed to Mr. Vandermerwe states that there were only 2,500 rifles. Was it possible to think that 2,500 rifles together with Jameson's 580 men could injure the independence of this republic?

"It was found necessary to organize as soon as the news came that Jameson had crossed the border. If the accused had thought of overthrowing the independence of the republic then they should be incarcerated in a lunatic asylum rather than in jail.

"All connection between the accused and Dr. Jameson with the Chartered Company must be effaced. Did they seize railways or interfere with officials? Did they not lay down their arms when they heard that Jameson had surrendered? Did they not send a message to Jameson, 'Do not come in Heaven's name'? Did not Hammond telegraph not to come? If Jameson committed an inroad they are not responsible for such inroad. As soon as the armament took place Hammond hoisted the flag of the South African Republic, and to that flag they swore an oath of allegiance.

"On December 30, when it became known that Jameson had crossed the border, there was general consternation in Johannesburg. On that evening members of the Reform Committee were called together. Naturally every one feared that the burghers would advance on Johannesburg. Of course, military corps were formed and earthworks were thrown up. The Government feared that a collision might take place with the police, and they were in consequence removed. It was also found necessary to place Trimble in charge of a body of police to protect the women and children against rogues and Kaffirs. Moreover, we have the declarations of Lieutenants De Korte

and Pieterse to substantiate the fact that Johannesburg was never in a dangerous condition. Everything was done to avoid a collision by the Reform Committee. Immediately after the interview with Messrs. Eugene Marais and W. Malan four of the leading members waited on the commission and informed them that they had forbidden Jameson to cross the border. Thereupon the reply was received from the commission. Work on fortifications was discontinued and Edys was sent to Jameson with a proclamation. They even offered themselves as hostages. More they could not do.

"The accused have been confined for three and a half months in jail. Think of the anxiety as to the result of this prosecution. They are not murderers, nor are they to be compared with such. Here we have Lionel Phillips, a man who was for over seven years chairman of the Chamber of Mines and head of that great financial concern, the house of Eckstein. To him all praise is due that various mines on the Rand are being exploited.

"Would you punish hundreds of white and black employes? George Farrar is working at present not less than ten mines, employing 700 whites and 1,000 blacks. Why should he employ his capital elsewhere? Again, John Hays Hammond is known to be one of the greatest mining experts in the United States. It is owing to him that gold fields have been successfully worked, and to him the republic owes the clever geological survey of the Witwatersrand gold fields. Francis Rhodes is director of gold fields, but has the misfortune to bear that name. Others, I may observe, are some of the leading men of Johannesburg. By punishing these men, not one, but hundreds, will be punished in Johannesburg.

"It is the object of the republic to prove to the outside world that the Government is powerful enough to punish despoilers, but will punishment of these men have the desired effect? They have now learned a stern lesson. It would be absurd to think any overt act of rebellion could take place. Again, their incarceration has ruined their business. The poignancy of their feelings can be better imagined than described. It is the desire of the Government that no sympathy be extended to these men by the public, but by inflicting severe punishment they will arouse the very feelings which are best left undisturbed. If the sharp edge of the sword be used the result will be eternal unrest,

but if the flat edge be employed, peace and the safety of the republic will be insured."

The state attorney then rose and stated that he wished to say something respecting certain law points tendered by his learned colleague, Mr. Wessels. He (the state attorney) understood that the law should be rigorously applied. The local laws of Van der Linden were in force in this country, but they were to be applied in modified form, and in accordance with the customs of South Africa's thirty-three articles. For high treason Van der Linden lays down no other punishment than death. In Article 9 various ways are given how this crime can be committed. The accused did not conspire with a foreign power, for the Chartered Company was only a business company. In the state attorney's opinion conspiracy with Jameson was more serious than with a foreign power. Jameson was a freebooter. He stood in the same light as a pirate. A pirate can only be adjudged to be shot or hung. The law should be applied in all its severity. In local news gekweste majeste is only once mentioned. Article 148 of the gold law was clear. It provided for confiscation of property.

"Do you ask for punishment according to the local laws of the state?" asked the judge.

"I do," was the answer. Resuming, the attorney said that the word "shall" was imperative, and concluded his address by saying that it was his duty to ask that those who pleaded guilty be punished as the court thinks fit and their property confiscated, under Article 148 of the Gold Law.

After a few remarks by the judge court was adjourned until 11 o'clock on the 28th.

The court reassembled the next morning. The judge summed up as follows:

"The four accused, Lionel Phillips, George Farrar, Francis Rhodes and John Hays Hammond, stand charged with and have pleaded guilty to the crime of high treason. The indictment sets forth that in the months of November and December last they did wrongfully and unlawfully commit high treason. Others have pleaded guilty to gekweste majeste. According to the pleas handed in by them in these last mentioned cases they have generally acknowledged the facts contained in counts three and four, and have thus unlawfully distributed guns and other arms and ammunition, and have enrolled men and formed them

into corps and erected earthworks, with the object of violently resisting the authority of the state.

"The first four have pleaded guilty to high treason, which is heavily punishable by law. They have taken the best legal advice and they have had the assistance of the ablest advocates. The plea of guilty, in conjunction with the evidence heard, shows that no long demonstration of proof may be expected from me, but I cannot refrain from making a few observations on the plea handed in by them.

"It would seem that they did place themselves in communication with Jameson, and that he, notwithstanding the invitation of the accused had been withdrawn, without troubling himself respecting their safety and wishes, at the head of an armed troop invaded the South African Republic, only mindful of his own gain. Apparently the intention of Jameson was neither philanthropic nor friendly toward the republic. This inroad could have been attended with most fatal and bloodiest results for South Africa, and cannot be sufficiently condemned as being equal to assassination.

"Thanks to the patriotism, bravery and heroism of the Transvaal burghers, the invasion was repelled. Were it not for the four accused the inroad would not have taken place. This they have acknowledged themselves, but they allege in their plea that Jameson came earlier than when he was asked, and they did everything in their power to induce him to return, and their attitude after the inroad of Jameson was only assumed in self-defense against the Transvaal Government.

"Thus they were responsible for what did occur. The question was: What was their duty in this instance? The reply is: They are in duty bound to faithfully stand by the Government, whose hospitality they enjoyed, when its independence was threatened. They repudiated Jameson, but there is reason to apprehend that they at the same time stood by him.

"With reference to the remainder of the accused, whatever grievances Johannesburg may have had, the members of the Reform Committee acted wrongfully and treacherously.

"According to the English law, the granting of refuge to the enemy stood equal to high treason.

"The question what provision of the Transvaal law is applicable in this instance has been answered by the defense by referring to Article 9 of the thirty-three articles of 1849, which prescribes a fine of 500 rix

dollars and banishment for the crime in question, but the allegation that this article supersedes the provision of the Dutch law is erroneous. It was nowhere laid down that punishments prescribed by laws are abolished. Moreover, the above-mentioned article has no relation to the instance whereby a foreign enemy had really made an invasion."

His Lordship quoted several cases, and said:

"These all go to prove that the special law did not abolish the provisions of the general law. Act No. 1, of 1877, has no bearing on this case. If the application of Article 9 of the thirty-three articles was held to, then it was impossible to withdraw from the provisions of Article 146 of the Gold Law, which stipulated for the confiscation of goods. I may observe here that with this article the court has nothing to do, because the accused have pleaded guilty under the general law, and it is thereunder the state attorney has asked that punishment be passed.

"If any opposite views are held I am prepared to reserve the point in dispute for a decision of the full bench. It is now, however, the duty of the court to pass sentence."

Here Lionel Phillips, John Hays Hammond, Francis Rhodes and George Farrar were arraigned in the dock brought in for that purpose.

The registrar having asked the accused whether they knew of any reason why sentence of death should not be passed on them, the reply from all was in the negative.

His Lordship, addressing them, said:

"Lionel Phillips, it is my painful duty to pass sentence on you. I am only meting out to you sentence prescribed by law, leaving it to the President and Executive Council to show you any mercy. May the magnanimity only lately shown by the Transvaal authorities be extended to you, but this is a case that does not fall within my jurisdiction. I can only say that you in any other country would not have been treated with any mercy. The sentence of the court is that you be taken from this place where you are now to the jail at Pretoria, or such other jail in the republic, and that you be kept there until such time and such place as the President shall appoint, and shall be taken to that place of execution to be hanged by the neck until you are dead. May Almighty God have mercy on your soul."

The same sentence was pronounced on Rhodes, Hammond and Farrar.

Addressing the other prisoners, the judge said:

"Each and every one of you will be kept in jail for the period of two years, or such other place as the Government shall appoint, and each and all of you shall be fined the sum of \$10,000, or in default, further term of one year's imprisonment, and at the expiration of the term you shall be banished from this republic, for the term of three years, confirmation of banishment to be left in the hands of the Executive, according to law."

The judge, having briefly thanked the jurors, and the state attorney having announced that he would not dispute the point reserved in regard to confiscation, the court closed.

don Gazette, as it holds good now as being the only really complete version of the British claims, and it has never, to our knowledge, been printed in the United States, we here reproduce its full text:

Downing Street, February 4, 1896.

Sir:—It has hereto been impossible for me to do more than indicate to you by telegraph the immediate measures which appeared to me to be necessary in view of the grave issues raised by the incursion of an armed force under Dr. Jameson into the territory of the South African Republic; but now that the pressing questions of the moment have been disposed of, I take the earliest opportunity of addressing you at length upon the subject.

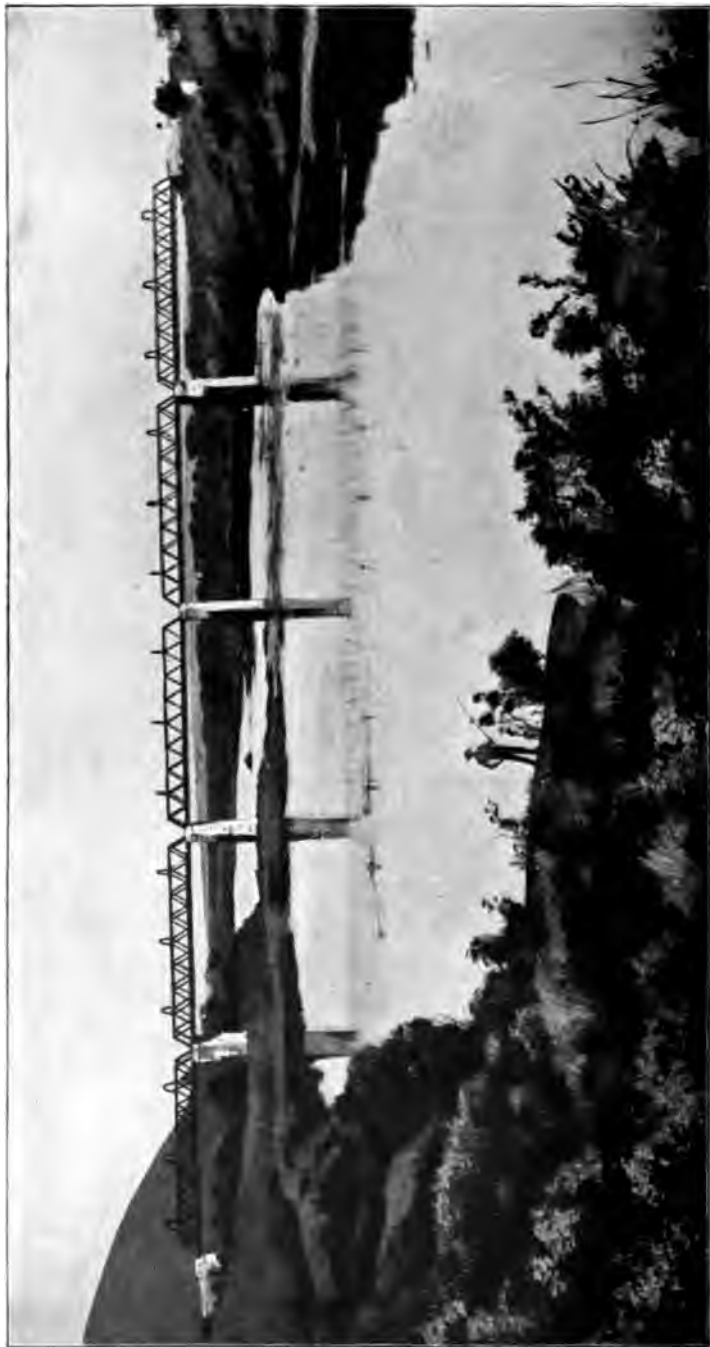
2. I propose in the present dispatch to review the situation, to trace the causes, as I understand them, which have given rise to it, and to explain the policy of Her Majesty's Government.

3. For the proper apprehension of the events which led up to the recent crisis I must go back to the period immediately succeeding the conclusion of the Convention of Pretoria in 1881. At that period, and for some time afterwards, the population of the South African Republic was comparatively small, and composed almost entirely of burghers and their families. The British element in it was made up of traders, a handful of farmers or land owners, and a small and not very thriving body of gold miners, living chiefly in the neighborhood of Lydenburg. The revenue was meager and hardly sufficient for the barest needs of government. About ten years ago the discovery of gold deposits at the De Kaap Fields gave indications of a new state of things, and a little later came the discoveries of gold at the Witwatersrand, which worked a complete revolution in the situation of the republic, both financial and political. The discovery of the reefs at the Rand gave rise to the inevitable gold fever, followed by the usual reaction. From such reaction the industry was saved by the foresight and financial courage of certain of the capitalists most interested, and since 1890 the progress has been uninterrupted and rapid.

4. Owing to the peculiarities of temperament and circumstance, participation in the new industry had no attraction for the burgher population. It remained almost entirely in the hands of newcomers, commonly known as Outlanders, and a sharp line of cleavage was thus created within the republic—the Outlanders being chiefly resident in



A NATIVE DISPATCH CARRIER OVERTAKEN BY BOERS.



COLENZO RAILWAY BRIDGE, ACROSS THE TUGELA. THE LINK BETWEEN COLENZO AND LADYSMITH.

the industrial and mining centers, whilst the burgher population remained absorbed in its pastoral avocations and dispersed widely through the country districts. It is very difficult to arrive at any exact idea of the numbers of these two classes of the inhabitants. But I conceive that I am well within the mark in estimating the white population along the Rand as something like 110,000, and it may safely be said that the aliens (the large majority of whom are British subjects) at the present time outnumber the citizens of the republic.

5. The political situation resulting from these conditions is an anomalous one. The newcomers are men who were accustomed to the fullest exercise of political rights. In other communities, where immigration has played an important part in building up the population, it has been the policy of legislatures to make liberal provision for admitting the newcomers who are desirous of naturalization, after a comparatively brief period of probation, to the rights and duties of citizenship—a policy which, so far as national interests were concerned, has been fully justified by the event, for experience shows that the naturalized alien soon vies with—if he does not outstrip—the natural-born citizen in the fervor of his patriotism.

6. In the South African Republic, however, different counsels have prevailed with those who were the depositories of power. More than one law has been enacted, rendering more difficult the requirements imposed on those desiring naturalization, and the effect being, so far as I can find, that whereas in 1882 an Outlander could obtain full citizenship after a residence of five years, he can now never hope to attain those rights in full, and their partial enjoyment is only conceded after a term of probation so prolonged as to amount, for most men, to a practical denial of the claim. If he omits to obtain any kind of naturalization for himself his children, though born on the soil, remain aliens like himself.

7. By this course of legislation the whole political direction of affairs and the whole right of taxation are made the monopoly of what is becoming a decreasing minority of the population, composed almost entirely of men engaged in pastoral and agricultural pursuits; whilst the great majority of all those engaged in the other avocations of civilization—the men, in fact, who have by their exertions in a few years raised the revenues of the country from some £75,000 to an amount which cannot be less than £2,000,000, and who find eighteen or nineteen

twentieths of the total revenue—are denied any voice in the conduct of the most important class of affairs, and have not succeeded in obtaining any redress for what seems a formidable array of grievances, which, it is alleged, hamper and injure them at every step of their lives. The feelings of intense irritation which have been aroused by this state of things have not been lessened by the manner in which remonstrances have been met.

8. Whatever may be the truth as to the occurrences of the last few weeks, the Outlanders had previously kept within the limits of constitutional agitation, but their success in this direction was not encouraging. It is true that hopes have been held out to them by persons of high position and influence in the South African Republic, and they have at times obtained what they regarded as promises, but these have not been practically fulfilled, and when they have remonstrated they have occasionally been met with jeers and insult—none the less irritating to strangers because, as I hope is the fact, they emanated only from a minority of the ruling class. Thus, in May, 1894, a petition for the extension of the franchise signed by 13,000 inhabitants, is creditably reported to have been rejected by the Volksraad amid scornful laughter, and in April, 1895, a similar petition signed by upward of 32,500 inhabitants is stated to have met a similar fate—one member of the Volksraad so far forgetting himself as to challenge the Outlanders to take up arms and fight.

9. At a meeting of the National Union at Johannesburg in 1894 the grievances and the demands of the Outlanders were set forth in a formal and elaborate manner, and it was then emphatically stated that no resort to violence was contemplated; although one of the principal speakers warned the Government that, if their policy were persisted in, blood would be shed in the streets of Johannesburg, and that the responsibility would lie at the doors of the Volksraad. At that time much was hoped from the coming elections, as it was anticipated that a “progressive” majority would be returned to the Raad, and that a more liberal policy would be pursued.

10. But these hopes were doomed to disappointment. The elections to the Raad did, indeed, result in the return of a majority of members who were commonly reckoned as “progressive,” and the National Union, in view of the suggestion that reforms were hindered by

the making of inflammatory speeches at Johannesburg, discontinued their agitation. Nothing, however, came of this change of policy.

11. On the 20th of November last a speech was delivered by Mr. Lionel Phillips, the chairman of the Chamber of Mines, which marks a reversion to the policy of active agitation. I note that on that occasion Mr. Phillips stated that the position had been endured, and it was likely to be endured still longer, and that he added that "nothing was further from his heart than a desire to see an upheaval, which would be disastrous from every point of view, and which would probably end in the most terrible of all possible endings—in bloodshed." Finally came the manifesto issued by the National Union on the 27th of December, in which their objects were stated to be the maintenance of the independence of the republic, the securing of equal rights, and the redress of grievances. In that manifesto, although the complaints of the Outlanders were set out in detail, and very plain language was used concerning the administration, no hint was given of an intention to resort to force.

12. I mention these matters because they seem to me to prove that, whatever may have been the secret schemes of individuals, the agitation, as the great majority of the Outlanders understood it, and to what they gave their sympathy, was one proceeding on the only lines on which an agitation against an organized government of military strength can proceed with any hope of success—that is to say, it was an open and above-board agitation, prosecuted without violence and within the lines of the constitution.

13. It is needless to say that Her Majesty's Government had watched the progress of these events with careful attention. Apart from their legitimate concern for the interests of so large a body of British subjects, they could not but feel a keen anxiety lest the agitation should degenerate into a contest with the constitutional authorities; but there is no ground for their active intervention. The Outlanders and their organs had always deprecated the introduction into the dispute of what is called in South Africa the "Imperial factor." To have intervened uninvited seemed impracticable and calculated only to be injurious to the prospects of a peaceful and satisfactory settlement.

14. There were, indeed, rumors from time to time that violent measures were in contemplation, but these rumors were constantly falsified by the event, so that in the long run the opinion gained ground

that the Outlanders did not mean to risk a collision with the Government; and in the light of later occurrences it would seem evident that, so far as the Rand itself is concerned, that view was the correct one. Nor was it confined to Her Majesty's Government, for the Consul General in London of the South African Republic, the Government at Pretoria, and the press of South Africa as a whole appear to have been of much the same way of thinking.

15. Such was the position of affairs when, on December 30, I learned the grave fact that Dr. Jameson had invaded the territory of the South African Republic at the head of a force of armed police.

16. It need hardly be stated that neither you nor Her Majesty's Government had up to the last moment any reason which would lead us to anticipate that this invasion was likely to take place. It has, I believe, been suggested in some quarters that the concentration of police at Mafeking and Pitsani Potlogo, on the western borders of the republic, should have sufficed to indicate to us that some aggressive movement was intended against the Transvaal; but this view is founded on a misapprehension of the circumstances. So long ago as August last the British South Africa Company, in connection with the projected extension of the railway northward from Mafeking, asked permission to station, for the time being, a certain portion of their police force at Gaberones in order to afford protection to the railway and to preserve order among those engaged on the work and the natives and others who would be attracted to the spot. I did not, at the moment, consider it desirable to comply with the request, because the territory in question still formed part of Bechuanaland Protectorate, and I saw objection to introducing into it a body of armed men who would not be under the exclusive control of the Crown. The matter then dropped, but it was revived by the circumstances attending the visit to this country of Khama and the other two principal Bechuana chiefs, when an understanding was come to as to the future administration of the protectorate. By that arrangement so much of the Bechuanaland Protectorate as was not reserved to the three chiefs above was to pass under the direct administration of the British South Africa Company, which was to become the border authority all around the territory. It consequently became unnecessary to retain the services of the Bechuanaland border police. On the other hand, the company represented that this increase in the area of the territory wherein they were to be-

come responsible for the preservation of order demanded a corresponding increase in the strength of their police, and they expressed themselves anxious to obtain the services of so many of the Bechuanaland border police as not about to be transferred to the Cape Colony or were not to be discharged. I assented to this proposal, and the Bechuanaland police scattered throughout the Veldt were called in to Mafeking, their headquarters, for the purpose of being either paid off or inspected for Dr. Jameson, the company's administrator, with a view to his selecting such of them as might be willing to join the company's service and as he might be willing to accept. So far as my informant went, the numerous details attending the transfer of men and stores to the company were being discussed and settled in a routine manner, and there was nothing in the detailed correspondence to arouse suspicion. I understand that about 200 of the police were in this way collected, of whom at least 120 were taken over by Jameson on behalf of the company.

17. Some little time before the settlement with Khama and his allies the company had come to an agreement with the minor chiefs, Montsioa and Ikanning, through whose districts the first section of the railway was to pass, for a transfer of the administration of their territories; and, as I have since learned, they obtained from Montsioa a site for a police camp at Pitsani Potlogo, and, with your knowledge and assent, an apparently small body of police came southward from Buluwayo to occupy these two minor districts. The only official details which I have received of a marked concentration of police are given in your telegram of January 10, from which I gather that you saw nothing suspicious in the arrangement; that you were not aware of any ordnance being at the camp, and that you did not think it necessary to specially report the circumstances to me. I am given to understand that the Bechuanaland officials were, equally with yourself, taken by surprise; and on this and other cognate questions I await the full report which Mr. Newton, the resident commissioner in the protectorate, has been directed to furnish.

18. The question has been much discussed whether the Government of the South African Republic, which, I believe, has police patrols along the Bechuana border, were equally in the dark as to Dr. Jameson's intentions. I understand from your message of January 10 that the Government of the republic was taken entirely by surprise, and this has

been confirmed by a statement since published on authority by the Consul General of the South African Republic. If it had been otherwise it is clear that the Government of the republic ought to have communicated its information or its suspicions to you, and that you would have then been enabled to take steps which would have prevented the invasion and the bloodshed which unfortunately followed. But the fact that the Republic's Government, who had the best means of information and the greatest interest in the matter, was entirely unaware of any preparations which would justify a remonstrance is evidence of the unexpected character of the invasion, and proves that the circumstances preceding it were not of a character to call for special notice from you.

19. On December 29, however, it was suggested to me that the Chartered Company's police might be used to force matters to a head in Johannesburg. The suggestion appeared to me almost incredible; but as a precautionary step I immediately telegraphed to you in order to put you on your guard, and instructed you, if you thought it necessary, to warn Mr. Rhodes of the consequences. Unfortunately Dr. Jameson had already crossed the border of the Transvaal.

20. As soon as the raid became known every possible effort was made by the British authorities to stay Dr. Jameson's advance. On the first rumor you at once telegraphed to the resident commissioner in the Bechuanaland Protectorate to send a fast messenger to warn Dr. Jameson and his officers of the position in which they had placed themselves, and to direct their immediate return. Your message was somewhat delayed by the cutting of the wire south of Mafeking, but within forty minutes of its receipt by Mr. Newton, the messenger was on his way with written orders, which he succeeded in delivering when the force was about half way to Johannesburg. The only reply he brought back was a verbal one that the dispatches had been received and would be attended to. Meanwhile a second messenger had been dispatched by the British agent at Pretoria, and returned with a written answer from Dr. Jameson, dated January 1, in which he stated that in the absence of food supplies it was necessary for him to proceed, but added that "he was anxious to fulfill his promise on the petition of the principal residents in the Rand to come to the aid of his fellow men in their extremity," an excuse which I sought to deprive of its plausibility by authorizing any necessary expenditure for food and forage. Proclama-

tions were also issued by the Governor of Natal and by yourself, calling on all British subjects to abstain from taking part in disturbances in the Transvaal, and on January 1 I directed you to make known by telegraphic communication to the newspapers in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Bloemfontein, that Her Majesty's Government, the High Commissioner and Mr. C. J. Rhodes all repudiated Dr. Jameson's action, and that you were commanded by Her Majesty to enjoin her subjects in the South African Republic to abstain from aiding or countenancing Dr. Jameson or his force, to remain quiet and obey the law and the constitutional authorities, and to avoid tumultuous assemblages. It was my desire that Sir J. De Wet should proceed in person to Dr. Jameson and summon him to retire. I have since learned from you that, owing to the partial interruption of telegraphic communication and to the rapidity of Dr. Jameson's movements, by the time my instructions reached the British agent at Pretoria fighting had already begun fifty miles away.

21. On January 1 you observed a report in the Cape newspapers that there had been a rising in Johannesburg, and that a provisional government had been proclaimed. You at once offered, if the President of the republic should wish it, to come to Pretoria in order to co-operate with him in endeavoring to bring about a peaceful settlement, and, your offer being accepted, you started on the following evening.

22. The situation as you found it on your arrival in Pretoria was extremely critical. Dr. Jameson and his force were taken prisoners. The town of Johannesburg was supposed to be in an attitude of armed, but for the moment passive, rebellion, and was surrounded by a burgher force variously estimated at from 8,000 to 12,000 men. The republic's authorities had practically withdrawn from the town, and the maintenance of order rested with the Reform Committee and with those who had armed themselves or accepted arms from the committee, with the expressed intention of protecting life and property and preserving the peace. A considerable amount of arming and organization appears to have gone on during the next few days, but it is clear that the majority of the population had little, if any, sympathy with the revolutionary movement.

23. At this juncture President Kruger showed a spirit of wisdom and moderation which I desire heartily to acknowledge. He kept within bounds the natural exasperation of his burghers, and the de-

cision to which he came in regard to the prisoners was equally prudent and magnanimous. When it first came to my knowledge that he might offer to hand them over to Her Majesty's Government for punishment, I felt it my duty to point out that it would be practically impossible to punish the rank and file, and that even as regards the leaders it was not possible to proceed otherwise than according to law; all that could be done was to bring them to trial and to leave the issue in the hands of justice. He nevertheless decided, after some correspondence, to hand over the whole of the prisoners to Her Majesty's Government, and it was arranged that such of the rank and file as were not domiciled in South Africa should be sent to this country to be disposed of as Her Majesty might direct, the leaders being also brought here and put on their trials immediately after their arrival.

24. As regards the town of Johannesburg, the Government of the South African Republic decided that the inhabitants must lay down their arms unconditionally within twenty-four hours "as a condition precedent to any discussion and consideration of grievances." You sent Sir J. De Wet on the 6th ult. to communicate this decision to the Reform Committee and the people. In this task he was aided by Sir Sidney Shippard, who appears to have taken up his residence in Johannesburg, and, as a result, either through a conviction that the rebellion was futile, or that it was wrong, or from an anxiety not to injure the position of the prisoners, the people of Johannesburg accepted the ultimatum and placed themselves and their interests unreservedly in your hands in the fullest confidence that you would see justice done to them. You informed me that you hoped then to be able to confer with the President and the Executive Council with regard to the redress of Johannesburg grievances.

25. On the 9th ult. you reported that the Government of the South African Republic had issued a proclamation granting a general amnesty to all in Johannesburg, with the exception of the leaders, who should lay down their arms before the following evening; and on the 10th ult. you communicated to me a proclamation addressed by the President to the inhabitants of the town, couched in conciliatory language, wherein he promised to submit to the Volksraad at its next session a law for the establishment of a municipality, with a mayor at its head, to whom the whole municipal government of the town would be intrusted.

26. For the next few days your attention appears to have been devoted to questions relating to the handing over of the prisoners, and on the 14th ult. I learned from you that, this matter having been arranged, you proposed to return to Cape Town that evening.

27. I desire to take this opportunity of expressing my cordial appreciation of your action on learning of Dr. Jameson's invasion, and also of your subsequent negotiations at Pretoria. In concluding my arrangements connected with the transfer of the prisoners, and averting the further evil consequences which might have arisen from Dr. Jameson's action, you achieved a success which was a worthy fruit for ripe experience, of long years passed in difficult employments, and of an exceptional tact and a high degree of power in winning the confidence of other men. I had hoped that it might have been possible for you, before you left Pretoria, to obtain some definite assurances from President Kruger as to the character of the reforms which His Honor has promised to the Outlanders, and as to the time at which they might be granted; and I had telegraphed to you some days before the views of Her Majesty's Government on those subjects. Your telegrams had led me to expect that you would be able to find an opportunity of discussing these matters during your stay at Pretoria. You have since informed me that it would have been impossible to enter on a discussion of these questions at the time, inasmuch as the Government believed that they had evidence of a widespread conspiracy to overthrow the constitution, in consequence of which they had arrested between fifty and sixty prominent inhabitants of Johannesburg; and that pending the investigation of the facts before the courts they would certainly not entertain the question of concessions to the Outlanders.

28. It seemed to me, I confess, somewhat hard that the suspicion, or even the certainty, that a handful of the wealthier inhabitants were more or less implicated in a treasonable conspiracy should be regarded as a reason for delaying the discussion of granting to the vast majority of industrious and peaceable inhabitants concessions which seem urgently called for by considerations alike of justice and expediency. I deferred, however, to your representations that the moment was an inopportune one for pressing the question, and I have intimated that you would receive in the present dispatch further and fuller instructions

for your future guidance. But before proceeding to this subject there are two points to which I must refer.

29. The first is as to the recent arrests in Johannesburg. I am unaware of the precise charges on which the persons now in custody, or on bail or parole, will be tried, but I am anxious to have a full report on the subject, and to be in a position to give information to those foreign governments who had invoked the good offices of Her Majesty's Government for such of their citizens as are implicated in the charges; and I accordingly instructed you to engage counsel to watch the trials and to furnish a complete account of them. I have now learned with much satisfaction that you have been able to secure for this service a gentleman of high reputation and ability, Mr. Rose Innes, Q. C., formerly Her Majesty's attorney-general for the Cape Colony.

30. In the next place, it is necessary that I should state clearly and unequivocally what is the position which Her Majesty's Government claims to hold towards the Government of the South African Republic.

31. Since the Convention of 1884 Her Majesty's Government have recognized the South African Republic as a free and independent government as regards all its internal affairs not touched by that Convention; but as regards its external relations it is subject to the control of this country in accordance with the provisions of Article IV. There is no reason to anticipate that any foreign state will dispute our rights, but it is necessary to state clearly that Her Majesty's Government intend to maintain them in their integrity.

32. As regards the internal affairs of the Republic, I may observe that, independently of any rights of intervention in particular matters which may arise out of the articles of the Convention of 1884, Great Britain is justified, in the interests of South Africa as a whole, as well as of the peace and stability of the South African Republic, in tendering its friendly counsels as regards the newcomers, who are mainly British subjects.

33. The list of grievances under which the Outlanders labor is, as I have already intimated, formidable in length and serious in quality. I cannot pretend to give an exhaustive statement of them here, and I do not wish to be understood as implying that everything which has been at one time or another put forward on behalf of the Outlanders as a grievance is a grievance in reality.

34. The first is the difficulty in obtaining naturalization and the

franchise, to which I have already alluded. This subject was discussed in my predecessor's dispatch of the 19th of October, 1894, wherein, in anticipation of an opportunity occurring for the intervention of Her Majesty's Government, he set forth certain arguments and conclusions which I adopt. I agree with him in thinking that the case would be met by the grant of the franchise after a period of five years' residence, with a modification of the oath of allegiance so as to remove what are felt to be objectionable features in it; and I may observe, as was pointed out by Lord Ripon, that the taking of such an oath, in whatever way it may be framed, will, according to British law, effectually deprive the person taking it of his status as a British subject.

35. Hardly less important than the franchise is the question of education. Up to the present it seems to have been practically impossible for the children of Outlanders to obtain efficient education in the state or state-aided schools. I have strong hopes, however, that an understanding may be arrived at between the Government and those interested, as I gather that on the 30th and 31st of December the President and Executive Council made specific promises on this and other points, which, if fulfilled, should go far towards meeting some of the Outlanders' complaints.

36. A further set of grievances are those connected with finance. It is maintained that the finances are mismanaged, and that the expenditure escapes proper control and audit; that taxation is maintained beyond the needs of the Administration; that unfair discrimination is shown in the collection of personal taxes; that the import duties on the necessities of life are not only hardship on the working class, but so raise the cost of the working of the mines as actually to be prohibitive of the working of the poorer ones, which, if the taxation were better apportioned to the ability to bear it, might be opened to the general advantage.

37. Then, again, there seems to be a serious ground of grievance, at least in theory, in the exceptional restrictions imposed by law upon the right of public meetings. As to this, however, I feel bound to admit that as far as the recent history of Johannesburg is concerned, these restrictions do not appear to have been very strictly interpreted.

38. The policy of granting state monopolies as regards mining requisites and other important articles of commerce has given rise to much resentment and as regards some of them, it is difficult to see how

even a plausible justification can be put forward for them from the point of view of the interests of the general community.

39. As regards the grievances which have been put forward in connection with the labor question by the mining industry, I content myself, at this time, by expressing the hope that if, by the abatement of formalities and needless restrictions, by promoting the well-being of the natives when going to, remaining at, and returning from, the mines, and by enforcing on them wise restrictions as regards drink and such matters, the labor supply can be enlarged and the condition of the laborers improved, the President and his Executive Council will not fail to give the question their most earnest attention.

40. Of railway matters also I need say but little. I cannot suppose that, looking to the large interests which the Government of the Republic has in the financial success of its railways, there can be any hesitation in redressing proved grievances or in adopting measures for the improvement of the personnel of the traffic and other arrangements of the lines.

41. The only other matters of grievance on which I propose to touch now is the condition of the police force, as to which I may remark that the difficulties of the reforming party in the Volksraad and the Executive appear to arise from the strong prejudice of the more conservative of the burghers against employing Outlanders, which would not be unworthy of sympathy were it not for the patent fact that a population like that of the burghers cannot possibly be expected to furnish adequate material from which to select candidates for this department of the public service; and to make difficulties about appointing foreigners amounts, under the circumstances, to a denial to the Outlander community of what are among the primary rights which the governed may demand of those who undertake to govern them.

42. In thus enumerating and commenting on the grievances of the Outlanders, I am fully alive to the fact that their redress cannot be accomplished without extensive changes in the law, the necessity for which may not be apparent to the more conservative section of the burghers, who may have mastered the facts of the situation created by the growth of the large Outlander community within the Republic; but I hope that even this section of the burghers will have learnt enough from recent events to perceive that the true interests of their country lie in accepting proposals which will remove just causes of dis-

content, and disarm the agitation, which, however futile it may have seemed when appealing inconsiderately to the arbitrament of war, will always be a possible source of danger to the present regime.

43. In the preceding remarks I have suggested the natural and appropriate remedies for the principal grievances of which the Outlanders complain, but it has not escaped my notice that these grievances arise in a limited area of the South African Republic—that is to say in the part occupied by the gold mining industry. I am aware that the conditions in the rest of the country are entirely different, and I can appreciate the difficulties of the President, who may feel that if he were to meet the Outlanders, he might indirectly be the cause of subordinating the interests of the burghers and of the pastoral population to the interests of the Rand. Having regard to this, Her Majesty's Government have carefully considered whether it might not be possible to meet the complaints of the Outlanders without in any way endangering the stability of the institutions of the Republic, or interfering with the ordinary government of the country and the administration of its general affairs by the burghers.

44. Basing myself upon the expressed desire of President Kruger to grant municipal government to Johannesburg, I suggest, for his consideration, as one way of meeting the difficulty, that the whole of the Rand district, from end to end, should be erected into something more than a municipality as that word is ordinarily understood; that, in fact, it should have a modified local autonomy, with powers of legislation on purely local questions, and subject to the veto of the President and Executive Council; and that this power of legislation should include the power of assessing and levying its own taxation, subject to the payment to the Republic's Government of an annual tribute of an amount to be fixed at once and revised at intervals, so as to meet the case of a diminution or increase in the mining industry.

45. As regards judicial matters in such a scheme, the Rand, like the Eastern Provinces of the Kimberley District of the Cape Colony, might have a superior court of its own. It would, of course, be a feature of this scheme that the autonomous body should have the control of the civil police, its public education, its mine management, and all other matters affecting its internal economy and well-being. The central Government would be entitled to maintain all reasonable safeguards

South Africa Company, the Reform Committee of Johannesburg, and Governor Sir Hercules Robinson, were all equally ignorant of Dr. Jameson's intended action, and there is no reason to doubt the truth of President Kruger's statement that he was unaware that the invasion was intended. An inquiry is pending and I desire to protest against a prejudgment on either side.

"I do not complain of Germany's attempted action at Delagoa Bay, but if it is legitimate for Germany to provide against mischief, it is legitimate for others to do the same.

"The inquiry comes under three heads: first, the Jameson raid; second, the complicity of the leaders in Johannesburg, and third, the responsibility of the Chartered South Africa Company. The last is not to be conducted with any vindictive motive, but its object is to discover whether or not the company is fit to be still entrusted with the administration of the territory. Therefore, I think the inquiry must include the subjects Mr. Labouchere has mentioned.

"It is not fair, however, to ask the Government to pledge itself as to the nature of the inquiry. If, after the trials in London and Pretoria, a further inquiry is considered necessary, the Government will readily assent. It will depend on circumstances whether it is made by a parliamentary committee or is a judicial inquiry.

"I have been asked to revoke the company's charter. That could only be done after a full inquiry. One reason for hesitation is that of thirty thousand shareholders in the Chartered Company ten thousand are Frenchmen. It would be a strange thing to deal with their property without a most absolute case against them.

"Nor do I think it desirable that the general administration of these new territories should be transferred to the Colonial Office, which could not do the work necessary for their speedy development. While the company will be allowed to continue its useful work of developing the country, the military and police forces will be removed from its control and placed under Crown officers, taking orders from the High Commissioner, but being paid by the Chartered Company. No magistrate will be allowed to be appointed without legal or colonial experience. The authority on the border of British Bechuanaland will be the commandant of a military force under the service of the Queen. These measures, I feel confident, will effectually prevent further raids.

"I had nothing to do with Mr. Cecil Rhodes' return to Africa.



THE 21ST LANCERS FROM EGYPT READY TO START FOR CURRAGH.



PRESIDENT KRUGER NOTING THE DEPARTURE OF A "COMMANDO" FOR THE FRONT.



**FRITZ ELOFF, PRESIDENT KRUGER'S
GREAT-GRANDSON.**



**GRAVE OF SIR GEO. POMEROY COLLEY,
AMAJUBA MOUNTAIN.**

Recently Mr. Rhodes was the most powerful man in South Africa. Now he returns there almost as a private individual, without the control of a single policeman, and having seen his work of civilization there jeopardized, if not destroyed. His departure, therefore, does not cause alarm.

"It would be an act of ingratitude to forget his past great services. He may have committed mistakes. That is not for me to say, but in my opinion his right place is in Africa, where he may yet do much to recover public confidence.

"It is not in the power of the Government to prevent the internal weakness of the Transvaal which is due to Outlander discontent, but the Government will continue to give President Kruger friendly counsel. I remind the gentlemen on the opposite side that the home rule I suggested for the Transvaal was a gas and water home rule, which President Kruger was perfectly justified in rejecting.

"The invitation to President Kruger to visit England was only given after the receipt of a private intimation that it would be accepted. To prevent any misconception, President Kruger has been informed that the Government will not discuss any modification of the British suzerainty over the Transvaal. I regret President Kruger's reply, as reported from Pretoria, because it is due to a misapprehension. I invited President Kruger as a friend, both to him and to the Transvaal, and I am sure the President would be received in England with the respect due to him. In any case, I shall continue my effort in behalf of the Outlanders, in the confidence that I shall receive the support of his countrymen here and in Africa."

Baron Marshall Von Bieberstein, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, February 13, reviewed the events in the Transvaal, in the Reichstag, and said:

"The Government knows nothing about any request from President Kruger for Germany's intervention in the South African Republic's affairs. And the British Government adopted, with the utmost energy, after Dr. Jameson's unlawful incursion, such measures that no responsibility rests upon Great Britain for the bloodshed. The relations between Germany and Great Britain have not ceased to be normal and friendly.

"And I repudiate the insinuation that Germany has designs upon

the independence of the Transvaal. Such a policy would be swept away before the indignation of the people."

While President Kruger and Mr. Chamberlain were exchanging diplomatic notes, the agitation among the friends of the Reformers (sentenced to death, but subsequently pardoned) in behalf of clemency was in full force, and during these efforts a number of cipher telegrams were made public by the Transvaal Government, to justify the severe treatment of the prisoners. These dispatches, deciphered by means of a cipher key discovered in Dr. Jameson's baggage, proved the complicity of the British South Africa Company with the Johannesburg reform leaders and with the Jameson raid. It was shown that the company put the sum of £40,000 to the credit of Colonel Rhodes, the brother of Cecil Rhodes, at Johannesburg, to be used in organizing the raid, and sent him word that the London Times had a cable dispatch from Cape Town saying that to delay the Jameson affair would be imprudent.

The Transvaal Government also claimed to have documents not produced in court, which compromised notable personages, civil and military, in South Africa and elsewhere.

Dispatches in great numbers passed between the reform leaders and Cecil Rhodes, and Rutherford Harris, secretary of the British South Africa Company, at Cape Town, and Dr. Jameson, at Pitsani, while the raid was being organized. They were couched in guarded language, but evidently referred to the intended invasion of the Transvaal, which was alluded to as "Shareholders' Meeting," "Flotation Company," etc.

The following are specimens of these messages:

"Chartered Company, Cape Town, December 7, to Rhodes, Johannesburg:

"Cecil Rhodes says send documents here that British South Africa Company's attorneys may satisfy themselves, after which you can draw for amount."

"Col. Rhodes, Johannesburg, December 11, to Bobby White, Mafeking:

"Inform Jameson don't send any more heroes before January. No more room for them. Best query."

"Stevens, Cape Town, December 13, to Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg:

"Jameson wires most strongly urging no postponing shareholders' meeting. Let Hammond inform weak partners that any delay most injurious."

"Hammond, Johannesburg, December 18 to Cecil Rhodes, Grootshuur:

"Cannot arrange respective interests without Beit. Flotation must be delayed until his arrival. How soon can he come?"

"Dr. Wolff, Johannesburg, December 18, to White, Pitsani:

"I suggest that you immediately instruct Major Gray to forward as soon as possible 200,000 rounds of his surplus ammunition to Gardner Williams."

"Beit, Cape Town, December 19, to Lionel Phillips, Johannesburg:

"Hammond wires company flotation must await my arrival. Cannot come at present owing health. Wire where is hitch."

"Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg, December 21, to Chartered Company, Cape Town:

"Informed Rhodes stated Chairman won't leave unless special letter inviting him. Definite assurance been given by all of us that on day flotation you and he will leave. Must be no departure from this, as many subscribers agreed to take shares on this assurance. If letter necessary can still be sent. But it was agreed documents left with Stevens were sufficient, and that you are responsible for Chairman's departure. Very important put this right. Reply to Lionel Phillips."

"Harris, Cape Town, December 21, to Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg:

"Beit has telegraphed urging start flotation new company. Reply when you can float, so I may advise Jameson same day."

Harris also sent a dispatch similar to the above to Dr. Jameson, at Pitsani.

"Harris, Cape Town, December 23, to Jameson, Pitsani:

"Company will be floated next Saturday, 12 o'clock, night. They very anxious you mustn't start before 9 o'clock and secure telegraph office silence. We suspect Transvaal getting aware slightly."

"Harris, Cape Town, December 23, to Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg:

"Beit has wired Phillips assuring him that Chairman starts immediately the flotation takes place. No invitation necessary."

"Harris, Cape Town, December 24, to Jameson, Pitsani:

"You mustn't move before Saturday night. We are freely confident this will take place Saturday night."

"Cecil Rhodes, Johannesburg, December 26, to Charter, Cape Town:

"Absolutely necessary postpone flotation. Leonard left last night Cape Town."

On the above date Harris repeated the last-mentioned dispatch to Dr. Jameson, adding:

"You must not move until you hear again. Too awful. Very sorry."

On the same date, Jameson's brother telegraphed from Johannesburg to Dr. Jameson, informing him that it had become necessary to postpone the "flotation" through unforeseen and unexpected circumstances, and "until we have C. J. Rhodes' absolute pledge that the authority of the Imperial Government will not be insisted upon."

Harris, December 27, sent dispatch to Dr. Jameson referring to a shareholders' meeting to be held January 6, and requesting him to wait patiently.

The same day Harris sent another dispatch to Dr. Jameson referring to the distribution of the British South Africa Company's police.

Harris, December 28, telegraphed Dr. Jameson that Leonard and Hamilton had informed him that the movement was unpopular in Johannesburg. This message concluded:

"We cannot have a fiasco."

Dr. Jameson, December 28, sent a dispatch to Dr. Wolff, at Johannesburg, saying:

"Meet me as arranged before you leave, which will enable us to decide the best destination. Make cutting to-night without fail. Have great faith in Hammond, Lawley and miners with Lee-Metford rifles."

Dr. Jameson, December 29, also sent the following dispatch to S. A. Jameson, at Johannesburg:

"Bechuanaland police already gone forward. Guarantee already given. Therefore let J. H. Hammond telegraph instantly all right."

The London Times protested against the proposals to punish Cecil Rhodes for his connection with the Johannesburg raid to appease the Boers, "who," said the Times, "are eager for his downfall, not from hatred, but from policy, he being a formidable champion of British ascendancy. It is inconceivable that he has been actuated by enmity

to the Dutch. His whole policy has been based upon the cordial co-operation of the British and Dutch."

The British South Africa Company finally decided not to accept the resignation of Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Beit.

The Transvaal Government, it was announced November 11, had decided to claim 1,000,000 pounds indemnity from the British South Africa Company to cover the damage caused by the Jameson raid.

President Kruger's diplomatic evasion of accepting the invitation of Mr. Chamberlain to visit England, did not deter that pushful British statesman from trying it again. During the month of March, 1896, the Colonial Secretary demanded that the Boer President immediately accept or reject the invitation to visit London for the purpose of discussing and settling the questions which had arisen between Great Britain and the South African Republic. In response to this demand President Kruger telegraphed that the decision in the matter did not rest with him, but with the Volksraad, the parliament of the Republic, and that the latter would only assent to his going to London on condition that the Anglo-Boer Convention of 1884 be so amended that the full independence of the Transvaal would be recognized and guaranteed by Great Britain and the other powers.

This caused another flurry in the world of politics.

It was pointed out that as the Volksraad did not meet until April 4, President Kruger would then have dallied over Mr. Chamberlain's invitation (which was sent early in February) for three months, during which time he had formed an alliance with the Orange Free State, prepared an Afrikander insurrection in Cape Colony, and reorganized the forces of the Transvaal, especially the artillery. That the issue of the negotiations would be war had then been contemplated by the British Government for some time.

Great Britain took steps to send an army corps of 20,000 men to South Africa. Of this force it was intended that a large contingent should be drawn from the Indian cavalry, artillery and infantry. But the tact and energy of President Kruger soon made an invasion of the Transvaal by 20,000 British troops almost impossible. It gradually developed that it was not the Transvaal alone that the British forces would have to face, but the united Dutch people of the whole of South Africa.

Under these conditions, including the troubles in Egypt and else-

where, the British people were not in a mood then to approve the gigantic task of conquering the Transvaal, yet they were facing that or the alternative of a declaration of independence from the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and probably Cape Colony, which it was claimed, even in 1890, would form the United States of South Africa.

It transpired April 4 that the dispatch of Mr. Chamberlain to President Kruger of the Transvaal, requesting an immediate reply to the invitation to visit London, was crossed by official advices from Cape Town announcing that President Kruger proposed to summon the Volksraad at a date earlier than that fixed for the opening of the regular session, with a view to expediting the decision concerning his proposed visit.

It was the opinion in certain quarters of Great Britain that the advisers of the Boer President were opposed to his coming to London, "fearing that Mr. Chamberlain would overreach him" in negotiating for a settlement of the Transvaal difficulties. This cannot have made the Boers smile.

The Governor of Cape Colony, April 24, cabled that President Kruger's second reply to Mr. Chamberlain's invitation was, in effect, that the President could not "presently proceed to England" as his presence in the Transvaal was required by the Volksraad.

The British Cabinet, April 27, discussed President Kruger's reply, and after deliberation it was decided that the Colonial Secretary should make a statement in the House of Commons.

Mr. Chamberlain did so. He said President Kruger's reply to the invitation must be considered in connection with the communications which preceded it. The most important point was, that the President said, referring to the request for a definite reply to the invitation, that he felt confident the Secretary would appreciate the difficulty of his position, and that it appeared to him wiser not to press the question of his going to England at present, but to leave the matter open, in view of the then coming session of the Volksraad and the desirability of his presence at the session of the Volksraad, when important measures were to be considered.

"Under the circumstances," continued Mr. Chamberlain, "the Government reluctantly withdrew its invitation and asked Sir Hercules Robinson to send Sir Graham Bower (the Imperial Secretary of Cape Town) to England for instructions regarding further negotiations."



The text of Oom Paul's reply to Mr. Chamberlain's kind invitation to come into his spider's web is interesting and adds to the list of important documents in the case, so we refer to it more fully. The Boer President began by saying that his visit to England had always depended upon the settlement of the basis of discussion, and he regretted that the basis had not been reached. President Kruger, continuing, said:

"In a friendly spirit, but from the very first, the Government saw clearly, and recorded its opinion that no foreign interference in the internal affairs of the republic could be allowed. Mr. Chamberlain admits the justice of this position, yet he intimates that Great Britain desires that particular internal measures be taken by the Transvaal. The latter cannot allow to pass unnoticed the expression 'admitted grievances,' and, however well meant, this Government must express regret that having intimated its desire for a reconsideration of the London Convention, in consequence of the inroad of Dr. Jameson, the position should be assumed that in the discussion the so-styled 'admitted grievances' must be included as a *sine qua non* in the event of a reconsideration of the convention being agreed to.

"The South African Republic has always been prepared to receive and consider in a friendly spirit the private suggestions of the Imperial Government regarding the interests of British subjects, although the South African Republic has never admitted the existence of the so-called 'admitted grievances,' and must deny on that account that the right exists to create rebellious movements. It does not affect to be perfect or infallible, and has repeatedly declared that it is prepared to listen to just complaints presented in a constitutional manner by any one. But the South African Republic is of the opinion that every step calculated to prolong the irritation existing in South Africa must be studiously avoided by the exercise of mutual forbearance and good will.

"I feel confident you will recognize and appreciate the difficulty of my position. It appears to be wiser not to press the question of my proceeding to England any further at present, but to leave it open, especially in view of the coming session of the Volksraad, and that the desirability of my presence during at least a portion of the session, when important measures are to be considered, is apparent."

CHAPTER XXIX.

JAMESON AND RHODES RETURN TO ENGLAND.

The troopship *Victoria*, with Dr. Jameson aboard, arrived at Devonport, England, February 23, from Durban, Natal. Two hundred and fifty of his men had previously arrived in London and had been sent to their homes. A great crowd gathered to receive them and greeted them with acclamations.

Dr. "Jim" received a wild welcome from the jingoes, everywhere.

The next day, Jameson and fourteen of his fellow-prisoners were arraigned in the Bow street police court, and charged with "warring against a friendly state," the Transvaal.

The court-room and the streets adjoining it were thronged with curious sight-seers and hero-worshippers during the whole of the day, in anticipation of his coming. He was loudly cheered on entering the court-room, the entire audience rising at his appearance.

The Duke of Abercorn, chairman of the British South Africa Company, was present, also Viscount Chelsea, the Earl of Arlington; Colonel Stracey, private secretary to the Marquis of Salisbury; several colonial officials, Charles E. Warde, M. P., and many others of note.

After the charge had been read, Henry Matthews, Q. C., formerly Home Secretary, announced that in view of the importance of the case, the law officers of the Crown would conduct the prosecution.

Formal evidence was then presented as to the circumstances of the arrest. The lawyers for the accused men asked that their personal recognizances be accepted for bail.

Sir John Bridge, the presiding magistrate, said that before deciding upon the bail he felt that he ought to observe that in his opinion a graver offense could not be charged against men than that charged against the prisoners. It was a crime of the highest possible gravity, and it must be so treated by everyone when they consider that the commission of such an offense might create a war between countries previously friendly.

The circumstances of the present case, he added, were most peculiar. He felt satisfied that the prisoners would appear when wanted.

He therefore accepted their personal recognizances, and fixed their bail at £2,000 (\$10,000) each.

The magistrate then addressed the prisoners personally in a grave and serious vein. He begged them for their own sakes and for the sake of the good faith of the country to refrain from appearing where public excitement would be aroused by their presence or in any way lending themselves to the disturbance of the peace.

Notwithstanding Sir John's remarks deprecating any public demonstration over the defendants, their withdrawal from the court-room was accompanied by a renewed outbreak of cheering, which the court officers finally succeeded in quelling.

When the court-room had become quiet again Sir John Bridge said sternly:

"That sort of thing might bring the name of England into contempt."

Meanwhile a still wilder scene was being enacted outside the court-room.

The prisoners had been smuggled into the court-room so unexpectedly and with such dexterity that the waiting mob was cheated out of their opportunity for shouting. But they were ready this time.

Dr. Jameson's appearance outside the building was the signal for a wild outburst of cheering, throwing of hats in the air and a tremendous pressure to get within reach of the popular idol. The crowd's intentions were friendly, enthusiastically so, but they threatened bodily harm to the object of their admiration.

Dr. Jameson was quickly hemmed in by a surging throng, and he made his way through them with difficulty. When he finally reached his cab, he was hurriedly driven off without waiting to make any sign of acknowledgment of the popular demonstration.

It was freely prophesied at the time, that at the most Dr. Jameson and his followers would be merely fined, and that before any great lapse of time he would be back in South Africa assisting Cecil Rhodes and aiding in the extension of the British Empire in that part of the world.

There was another jingo crowd in and about Bow street police court, March 10, on the occasion of the formal arraignment of Dr. Jameson and his fellow-raiders—Major Sir John Willoughby, Royal Horse Guards; Colonel H. F. White, Major Grenadier Guards; Colonel R. Grey, Captain Sixth Enniskillen Dragoons; Major R. White,

Captain Royal Welsh Fusileers; Major J. B. Stacey, Scots Guards; Major C. H. Villiers, Royal Horse Guards; Captain Charles John Coventry, Third Battalion Worcestershire Regiment, son of the Earl of Coventry; Captain K. G. Kincaid Smith, Lieutenant Royal Artillery; Captain C. L. W. Monroe, Third Battalion Seaforth Highlanders; Captain C. P. Foley, Third Battalion Royal Scots; Captain E. S. C. Holden, Derbyshire Yeomanry; Captain C. F. Lindsell, Fourth Battalion Durham Light Infantry, and Lieutenant H. M. Grenfell, First Life Guards.

Sir Richard Webster, the attorney-general, in opening for the prosecution, reviewed the circumstances of the raid and cited the speech which Colonel Grey made to the Bechuanaland police at Mafeking, in which he said, "I cannot tell you that we are going by the Queen's orders, but you are going to fight for the supremacy of the British flag in South Africa."

The first witness called was Sergeant Hay, of the Bechuanaland police, who testified to the mustering of the troopers at Mafeking and to the endeavor by Dr. Jameson and Colonel Grey to induce him and a few of his comrades to join the raid.

Corporal Smith, of the Bechuanaland police, testified that Dr. Jameson made a speech to the troopers at Pitsani, December 29, and read them a letter signed by Messrs. Hammond, Farrar, Phillips and Leonard, of the Johannesburg Reform Committee, requesting assistance on behalf of the people of Johannesburg, who, it was claimed, were in danger from the threatening attitude of the Boers. Dr. Jameson told the troopers that he did not believe that a shot would be fired.

Sergeant Buck, of the Matabeleland police, March 17, detailed the events of the march of December, the arrest of the young Boer leader Eloff, who came to warn the party to return across the border, and the firing of the Boers at midnight the same day on the Jameson party. This, Sergeant Buck said, was the first intimation they had of the presence of the Boers in their proximity. The fire was returned and the Boers fled. On January 1 the Jameson party encountered sixty or seventy Boers, who opened fire on them. The fire was again returned and the Boers retired in the direction of Krugersdorp, followed by the troopers.

Trooper Hill, also of the Matabeleland mounted police, testified to hearing Dr. Jameson, in a speech at Pitsani to the men who were to

compose the expeditionary column, say to the troopers that they were going to Johannesburg in order to protect the English women and children, whose lives were in danger. Jameson said he hoped there would be no fighting, but if there was, "Why, we'll fight." He hoped, however, that the column would reach Johannesburg before the Boers had time to collect. Dr. Jameson assured the troopers that "if it comes to a push the Cape Mounted Rifles and the Natal police will assist us." Also that the column might be joined by the Bechuanaland border police.

Replying to a question, the witness said that Dr. Jameson, while addressing the troopers, referred frequently to a letter which he held in his hand, which appeared to contain instructions as to the conduct of the expedition.

Sir John Willoughby, the military commander of the expedition, Trooper Hill said in conclusion of his testimony, also made a speech to the men on the same lines as the remarks of Dr. Jameson, and expressed the hope that the troopers would do their best.

A letter from Johannesburg, dated December 30, and appealing to Dr. Jameson to assist the Outlanders against the oppression of the Boers, was introduced in evidence. There was introduced also a dispatch sent by Sergeant White, with orders to overtake Dr. Jameson and recall the raiders.

Sergeant White, of the Bechuanaland mounted police, March 24, gave damaging testimony. He swore to having refused to join the expedition, added that Colonel Grey questioned the troopers prior to starting, and informed them they were not to fight for the Queen, but for the supremacy of the British flag in South Africa.

The sergeant also testified that Commissioner Newton dispatched him from Mafeking on December 29 in pursuit of Dr. Jameson's column, telling him to catch the latter at any cost. When the witness caught up with the column he handed his dispatches to Colonel Grey, who ordered him to give them to Sir John Willoughby, who in turn told Sergeant White to give them to Dr. Jameson. The latter, however, sent him back to Sir John Willoughby, who finally distributed them. Half an hour later, he continued, Sir John Willoughby said:

"Tell your commanding officer that the dispatches have been received and will be attended to." The column, Sergeant White also said, then proceeded in the direction of Johannesburg.

The examination was adjourned, March 25, until April 28, to await witnesses on the way from South Africa, and dragged on into June.

On June 15 the leaders of the raid were committed for trial for violating the neutrality laws. The other raiders were discharged.

The leaders, later, were tried, found guilty and sentenced to light terms of imprisonment as first-class misdemeanants. Dr. Jameson's sentence was ten months' imprisonment. He was released after being confined for about six months.

Mr. Cecil Rhodes arrived at Plymouth, England, January 22, 1897, on board the steamer *Dunvegal Castle*, from Cape Town, to testify before the Parliamentary Committee appointed to inquire into the Jameson raid. He was given a reception on the eve of his departure and made a speech, in the course of which he said he was going home to be examined regarding the Jameson expedition by his fellow countrymen, whose "unctuous restitude" he well knew. In another speech he had referred to Mr. Chamberlain rather contemptuously as having a "hobby for orchids."

His journey from Kimberley to Cape Town was a triumphal progress, people turning out even during the night and welcoming him at stations.

On his arrival at Cape Town he was presented with an address by the Mayor or behalf of the corporation. His carriage was pulled by fifty Rhodesian troopers in fighting uniform—shirt sleeves and riding breeches, with red pugarees. From 20,000 to 25,000 people assembled in front of the arch at Cape Town where the addresses were presented. The cheering was tremendous, as was also the enthusiasm of the vast crowds which lined the streets. Addresses were also presented from the railway workmen and from the Malay community. Further addresses were presented along the route of the drive home, one address being signed by 8,000 persons.

The text of the speech in which Rhodes asserted that the world's surface was limited, and that, therefore, the best policy was to take as much of it as you could, created a sensation in London, where even his best friends feared that he was inflaming passions which would lead to further trouble.

President Kruger displayed much anger at the reception accorded to Cecil Rhodes in Cape Colony, and said his efforts to create amity

between the English and Dutch were being upset by Mr. Rhodes, "whose money, men and guns had caused all the trouble."

In the House of Commons, January 26, 1897, Mr. Chamberlain moved the appointment of a South African commission to inquire into the Jameson raid and other matters. M. J. Maclean, member for the Cardiff district, proposed an amendment, which he afterward withdrew, reciting that in view of the peaceful settlement of the South African question and the punishment of the Transvaal raiders, that it would be inexpedient to reopen the matter, and needless to reappoint the committee, one committee, it should be added, having previously whitewashed everybody concerned.

Mr. Maclean's amendment was withdrawn January 29 after Mr. Chamberlain had made a statement in which he declared that the situation in South Africa undoubtedly had become most critical during the last few months. There had been, he explained, a revival of unrest, recent legislation of the Transvaal was partly contrary to the Convention of London, and President Kruger had not kept his promise to give full and favorable consideration of the grievances of the population. Continuing, Mr. Chamberlain said that he did not blame President Kruger personally, he only wished the President's hands to be strengthened in his policy.

The Chartered Company, he added, had no reason to fear an inquiry, and he believed the company would be able to show a good case. Mr. Chamberlain added:

"An inquiry into the origin of the raid would be a sham unless it carefully inquired into the Outlanders' grievances, and this opens up pitfalls of difficulties. Nevertheless the Government will press the reappointment of a committee, with an increase of its number to seventeen, in order to enable the Irish members to be represented."

Mr. Chamberlain's motion to reappoint a Parliamentary committee to inquire into the administration of South Africa was adopted finally without a division.

The committee appointed to inquire into the trouble in South Africa met February 5, and selected William L. Jackson, member for North Leeds, as chairman. It was decided to begin the taking of evidence February 15.

The grave remarks of Mr. Chamberlain on the situation in South Africa created a deep impression, more especially as they were unex-

pected. The members assembled in the lobby afterwards and discussed the passage of the remarks in which Mr. Chamberlain hinted at dangerous undercurrents in the affairs at the Cape, and all remarked that the Colonial Secretary's tone in reference to the Transvaal was much sterner than his former utterances on the subject.

The Conservative newspapers praised Mr. Chamberlain's attitude, and the *Globe* and Ministerial expressed the hope that President Kruger would take the warning to heart, "for persistence in inquiry and insult in Boer dealing will only result in the assertion once for all of British supremacy in South Africa."

February 3 following, President Kruger, in an interview on the subject, said:

"I strongly disapprove of intermixing the so-called Outlander grievances with the Chartered Company's freebooting invasion of the Transvaal. The latter admits of no whitewashing, and no local causes justified such a criminal raid. I have always used, and am still using, all my influence to diminish race hatred. But recent utterances on the other side are adding to the fire."

CHAPTER XXX.

OOM PAUL AND OUTLANDERS ON THE RAID.

During the evening of November 27, 1896, the officials of the South African Republic entertained President Kruger at dinner in the Transvaal Hotel, Pretoria. There were 150 guests and most of the speeches bristled with praise for the shrewd old Executive of the Transvaal Republic. At the close of the dinner the President made some extremely interesting allusions to the Jameson raid, and its consequences. He said:

"Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, strangers, burghers, and all, I must say that I was never caught before, but I must say that my learned officials have caught me to-night. It is my custom to leave the hall after the first or second toast, and go to my house, but to-night you have caught me (laughter), because you ran about a dozen toasts into one. It is my custom to be brief in my speeches even in the Raad, but to-night you must be patient with me, because I shall be rather long. The chairman has spoken of my youth and what I have done, but all that I have done has been under the guidance of the Almighty, and my burghers have been my hands and legs. In my youth, my middle age, in my old age, I have always relied upon my God to help me. My officials have also helped me, and were it not for them and my burghers I should not be in the proud office I now hold. It has been my experience and my belief that the hand of God has led us from the time we trekked from Cape Colony onward. God led His people here, and if they disobeyed His mandates He would punish them. He in His mercy had restored our land and our liberty. People might say that we shot very well. I say it was not the shots, but God's graciousness. God has given us back our freedom, and a curse be on me and woe unto me if I defile it. It is in my keeping as President for you, and may the Almighty spare me to keep that trust. Let us not boast of our deeds. They are not ours, but the doings of our Ruler. The Lord was with us during the civil war, and prevented us from shooting one another. Now I must enter into politics. It is not my custom to do so at dinners, but to-night I feel compelled to speak on the situation, because so many rumors have been circulated

recently. These rumors have been most damaging. It has been shouted and published that on December 16 next, the day of Dingaan or holy festival, that we intend to declare our independence of the Convention. Conventions are not made to be broken so easily ("Hear, hear").

"What does the Convention mean? It means the guarantee of our independence. It is our safeguard. If I want any alteration to the Convention I will ask for it in a peaceful and quiet manner, and I feel sure that all our burghers agree with me that such is the proper course. Our motto is to abide by our word, and never to break a contract. People were shouting the question, 'Why don't you send in the claim for the Jameson raid?'

"I want to be fair, and it is my answer to them. I do not want to make an unfair claim, and therefore it will take time to prepare the statement of outlay. If I had it in my power I would not ask for even what I am entitled to. The Lord is with us, and His decree is that right is might, not might is right. It has been the policy of our republic throughout never to be the aggressor, but still to defend ourselves; that policy has always been followed, even with the natives who wished to make war with us. To act otherwise would be unworthy of a civilized nation. We have purchased our ground dearly and we must keep it. Now, I will refer to the recent laws. With regard to the expulsion law and the immigration law, we did not make them to create bad feeling; they were made to maintain peace and order, and to contribute toward the safety of inhabitants. I do not mean burghers, but the newcomers as well.

"There are people coming in who wish to see us by the ear, and we don't want it. ("Hear, hear!") We want to be friendly and happy. These laws will only be set in force against those who wish to create disorder. There were persons who talked about disturbances and an invasion into Charterland. To that I can only reply, as I said before, our policy is not aggressive. They look at matters through colored spectacles. To go back to the alien laws, I don't say that they are entirely good in the letter, but they are in principle good. A few alterations may be necessary. I will now say again that during my lifetime there will be no question of going over the border. We do not want to extend our territory. Now about the claim, it will be made in righteousness. I might have claimed three or four millions,



GENERAL PIET JOUBERT, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF BOER FORCES.



RT. HON. CECIL J. RHODES.

but that is out of the question. I won't do so. I only want to make a fair claim, and I feel sure that Her Majesty's Government will meet it in a fair spirit. Let us take the occurrences in a fair and reasonable spirit, and let us always carry out the adage: Do good to those who wrong you."

Here the President sat down, but in response to loud cheering he rose and proposed the toast, "The Mining Industry," which, he said, was the mainstay of the land; and it was their bounden duty to foster it. The Raad was doing all it could to encourage mining and local industries, and he felt sure that in future they would not be found wanting as regarded their duty to the mines.

In commenting editorially upon the speech the next day the Johannesburg Star said:

"President Kruger's speech at the official banquet given at Pretoria last night in his honor is a most welcome and brightening one. It cannot be gainsaid that for some time past renewed feelings of uncertainty and unrest respecting the future development of events in this state have been rapidly arising, their growth being much encouraged by the uncomfortable and overcautious reticence of the authorities regarding the true state of affairs. It is highly satisfactory and relieving that the President made up his mind last night to untie his tongue and make a definite and official pronouncement on the political situation. It is observable that Mr. Kruger spoke with that candor he is wont to spasmodically adopt, and in this case happily the frankness has led him into no diplomatic faux pas. As far as can be seen at present (we are writing without a verbatim report of the speech before us) His Honor's utterances were marked throughout with sound common sense, and an honest desire to remove whatever false and misleading impressions may lately have been produced by the various rumors passing along the pavement. In the presence of Mr. Kruger's definition of the situation they must now be regarded as altogether unsubstantial. There can be no doubt that the President's speech last night will do infinite good. It seems to remove at once the heavy incubus of doubt and suspicion as regards the policy of the Government, under which the political situation has for some time been pressed down to what was rapidly becoming an unbearable degree. The feeling it will create in Europe is certain to be of a most reassuring and beneficial kind, and it will be a matter of much surprise if, after what

President Kruger has said, substantial evidence on the part of the outside world in the political and industrial prospects of this state.

"President Kruger spoke freely and ingeniously on several points of high politics which vitally affect the well-being of the republic. The first he touched upon is the disposition of the Government toward the London Convention. His Honor cannot be too highly complimented on the manner in which he handled this delicate and difficult subject. It is, after all, this portion of his last night's oration which will receive most attention from the European public. There is no denying the fact that the idea has been gaining considerable ground that the Transvaal Government, incited by the extreme section of the Boer party, was about to adopt an actively antagonistic attitude toward the principles of that treaty. President Kruger felt himself to be in the position last evening to say what he did on this topic. After his bold and emphatic statement that his Government has not the slightest desire to break that Convention, all gossip to the contrary must now be ignored. From His Honor's somewhat humorous remark that under the agreement the Transvaal is practically so independent that Heaven itself can hardly interfere it may be judged that the Government has decided to view that instrument with no unfriendly feeling. As a matter of solid fact, of course, there are powers latent in the Convention which have only been imperative because of the extreme consideration shown by Great Britain; but let that pass for the present. President Kruger also sees that in regard to its external relations this country could have no wiser or more considerate 'guide, philosopher and friend' than Great Britain. If the authorities here desire any modification in the terms of that Convention they will, said President Kruger, confine themselves to legitimate and unobjectionable procedure.

"In regard to recent legislation and the general attitude of the Government toward the mining industry, Mr. Kruger spoke in a way that promises nothing but disagreeable developments. But until actual proof is forthcoming that the Government does not mean to arbitrarily enforce the unnecessary and minatory legislation of this year, and does not intend to further improve the position of the mining industry, President Kruger's observations in this direction may be regarded as well meaning without being accepted as conclusive evidence that a new policy is to be pursued; all that need be said is that if the course to be followed by the Government of this state, both in regard to domestic and foreign affairs, at all coincides with the lines sketched out last

night by President Kruger, this republic is about to enter upon an era of peace and progress such as it has not yet known."

Just previous to the Jameson raid an Outlander at Johannesburg presented to the British public a full statement of the dispute from the standpoint of the British residents of the Transvaal. As we have shown the British version of the dispute, it will be interesting to present with it the Outlander argument, against the Boers, especially as it holds good to-day. The statement was as follows:

The efforts of the Outlanders in Johannesburg to obtain the franchise culminated in a monster petition presented to the Volksraad, signed by over 13,000 Outlanders, or subjects of other states, asking to be allowed citizen rights subject to a two years' residence, a property qualification, and the taking of the oath of allegiance to the state. This petition was simply and literally jeered at in the Raad, the members evidently regarding it as the joke of the session; and, so far from regarding its prayer, they passed a law, which, so far as we are concerned, may be summarized as follows:

Naturalization can be obtained after two years' residence, on production of proof from local officials that the applicant for the privilege has been two years in the country, and has during that time conducted himself obediently to the laws of the state, and that he has been for two years enrolled in the books of the Veldcornet—an official who is a sort of registrar for taxing and commandeering purposes. With these documents the would-be citizen must produce "a certificate from a competent official to the effect that he has had no dishonoring sentence passed upon him."

Now upon these provisions we need only remark:

(a) That the Veldcornet lists are generally kept by illiterate men—Johannesburg is an exception.

(b) That the lists have, in one case at least, been lost or destroyed, and the Government refuses to admit any other evidence of residence.

(c) That no effort is made to compel newcomers to enroll themselves, though a practically complete list is obtained here somehow for taxation purposes; so that, whereas in some country districts poll taxes are as much as 75, in most 25, per cent. in arrear, Johannesburg and other essentially Outlander centers are only 6 per cent. in arrear. We are not aware that any steps are ever taken to let newcomers know that the law requires them to enroll within fourteen days after arrival.

(d) No self-respecting man would be likely to care to apply to a magistrate or other official in his motherland for a certificate that he had not been sent to jail or had a "dishonoring sentence" (whatever that may mean) passed upon him. This clause is doubtless suggested by the impression to which certain members of the Raad, and even President Kruger himself, have from time to time given expression, that the majority of newcomers are "murderers and thieves."

The applicant for naturalization has to be sent, with the documents, by the Veldcornet through the Landdrost (magistrate) to the State Secretary, who refers it to the Attorney General, who returns the documents to the State Secretary. After all this the applicant may be allowed to obtain letters of naturalization, the State Secretary having discovered no flaw in the immaculate respectability required to put him on an equality with the Boer, provided the Government finds no obstacle—that is, has no objection to such issue. We all know what this means to this notoriously corrupt state.

Having gone through this performance, and having been declared unblemished, the aspirant for burgher rights pays the sum of £2, and then is rather worse off than he was before. You ask why? Because, as a naturalized citizen, he is liable to all the burdens of citizenship, including compulsory military service, and the rights he acquired are practically nil. He can vote for a member of the Second Volksraad, a body that simply has the regulation of certain departments, such as mining, posts, etc., but has nothing to say about taxation, and is, indeed, powerless, as against the First Volksraad. He can also vote for the Veldcornet—hardly as great a privilege as voting for the election of a coroner. But he cannot vote for a member of the First Volksraad, who is practically in the same position as a member of the English House of Commons, nor can he vote for the President or the Commander-in-Chief, both of whom are elected by popular suffrages. In short, he has about as many privileges—possibly less in proportion—as a man might have who could vote in England in municipal and county council elections, but had not the Parliamentary franchise.

By way of ensuring a continuance of this state of things, the law contains three ingenious provisions:

(a) The privilege of citizenship given by birth in the country is limited by a proviso that children follow the conditions of their parents,

so that if we ~~are not~~ naturalized or enfranchised my son is excluded from all hope of being so.

(b) "No extension of this franchise can take place unless a proposition to that effect shall have been published for one year in the Government Gazette, and unless two-thirds of the enfranchised burghers shall have declared themselves in favor thereof by memorial." This is the referendum with a vengeance, and with a difference, for we question very seriously if two-thirds of the enfranchised burghers could sign their name to a memorial or anything else.

(c) Election committees are made illegal. To belong to one of these dangerous institutions, since they might by the use of argument or money, or both, convert the burghers in time to comparative reasonableness, is rendered penal and punishable with a fine of £50 or imprisonment.

Unless an Outlander be specially admitted by the Raad or the Government to full burgher rights he can never acquire them, nor can his posterity to all eternity, until the iniquitous enactment here summarized be abrogated, an enactment that, in the matter, at any rate, of depriving those born in the Transvaal of the birthright, abrogates a provision of the grondwet or constitutional law of the republic.

On top of this answer to our petition, and in face of the fact that we in Johannesburg are annually taxed nearly ten times as much as the "poor Boer," we were told we were liable to compulsory military service in wars about which we have nothing to say, and it is only by the recent action of the British Government that this burden has been lightened, without being entirely removed, for funds and goods for the war can still apparently be commandeered from us.

This is the position of the Englishmen in a country that owes its existence as an independent state to English magnanimity, to a people who have never been able to understand or believe that there is a limit to their power of presuming upon Britain's "weakness." How great is their confidence that England will not lift a finger for her children here is shown by their choosing a time when they are seeking further concessions from the British Government in the matter of Swaziland to tell us that aliens and serfs we are, and shall remain, without rights, mere taxpayers and (but for Sir Henry Loch's intervention) prospective targets.

Englishmen at home, we are sorry to say, give little thought to their

countrymen abroad, unless British capital is endangered or some sensational incident of a dramatic nature happens. In the latter event they generally seek to atone for the indifference that has led to a catastrophe by wordy sympathy and a Mansion House Fund. In the Transvaal to-day millions of English capital are invested, and nothing would please the Boer better than to annex that capital, and get rid of the Englishmen and colonists who chiefly have built up the industry that has redeemed this republic from actual bankruptcy. The "sensational incident" might arrive at any time should any indiscretion be committed. The sense of wrong and injustice on the one side is as deep and strong as the determination on the other to show us our only duty is to obey the laws our Boer rulers pass, and thank God we are allowed to earn a living in a country where the air is about the only necessary not yet taxed, a country that is surely the veriest parody of a republic the world has ever seen.

As a result of Sir Henry Loch's recent visit a fresh convention is to be negotiated with the Transvaal by England. Meanwhile the Government of the country has promised not to commandeer British subjects so far as other aliens are exempted by treaty, though at this moment commandeered subjects of Great Britain are at the front and four are undergoing three months' imprisonment—to be served at the front—for resisting the law and forcing this matter upon the attention of the Home Government. In conducting the negotiations in this matter and in the Swaziland matter, let the Government and the people of England see to it that in doing justice to the Boer and the Swazi they do not forget the 15,000 or more in Johannesburg, and the thousands elsewhere in this country, who desire that there may be no half-heartedness in their pride in the grand old flag under which they learnt to know and to value justice and liberty.

We have no wish to suggest that England should officiously interfere in the internal affairs of this state, but in the game of "international give-and-take" surely the taking need not all be on the side that has shown itself incapable of a generous impulse. Something can be done, if only to secure British capital, by seeing that taxation carries some representation in the body that controls the revenues of the South African Republic, and by urging some mitigation of the many disabilities which are to-day making the new population a source of danger and weakness to the state, instead of a tower of strength.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE NEW TRANSVAAL LAWS.

The Outlander agitation eventually brought about legislation upon the part of the Transvaal in the shape of a Press Law and an Aliens' Expulsion Law, which went into force in the South African Republic October 14, 1896. Their text follows:

THE PRESS LAW.

Replacing Law No. 11, 1893, being the law on the Press, in accordance with directions of resolution of the First Volksraad, Article 832, dated August 5, 1895.

Whereas, it is considered expedient to make regulations for the carrying out of Article 19 of the Grondwet (i. e., the constitution of this republic); therefore it is decided as follows:

Article 1. By the term "printed matter" is comprehended in the sense of this law all productions of the printing press in this republic, as well as all other productions within the republic prepared by means of mechanical or chemical process of disseminating intended copies of written matter, of illustrations, with or without text, and of music with text and explanations. As "dissemination" in the sense of this law is also considered the placarding or the exhibition of a publication in any place where it is open to the notice of the public.

Article 2. On every publication must be given the name of the printer, and whether it is intended for distribution by the bookseller or otherwise; the name and address of the publisher, or where the copy is issued for the writer's own account. From this regulation are excluded such publications as are intended solely for purposes of trade or daily usage, as printed forms, price lists, notices of marriage or death, visiting cards and such like.

Article 3. All publications, such as periodicals, newspapers and reviews, must, in addition, contain in each and every number of its issue the name and address of its responsible editor, whilst all articles (or pieces) of a political or personal nature which appear therein must be signed by the writer with his true and full name.

Article 4. Within the period of one month after this law becomes of force the publisher of any periodical publication already in existence in the republic must send in to the State Attorney a written declaration under oath containing a statement of the name of such periodical and of the name of the responsible editor, the publisher and owner. After this law becomes of force no newly-appearing periodical publication can be issued without a similar declaration to the State Attorney.

Article 5. The State President has at all times the right (with the advice and consent of the Executive Council) to prohibit entirely or temporarily the circulation of publications the contents of which are, in his opinion, contrary to good morals or dangerous to the peace and order of the republic.

Article 6. Whosoever makes himself, through the medium of the press, guilty of libel, slander, public violation of decency, or instigation to a punishable offense, shall be punished with a fine not exceeding £250, or with imprisonment for not more than one year. Any one who shall be proved guilty of incitement to any unlawful act shall be subject to a maximum fine of £500, or to at most two years' imprisonment, or banishment of not exceeding two years.

Article 7. Whenever a punishable offense is committed by means of a periodical publication the responsible editor—whether or not he is the writer of the incriminating piece or article—shall be punished as a perpetrator, unless from exceptional circumstances it be estimated that he cannot be considered as such.

Article 8. Whenever a punishable offense is committed through the medium of the press,

- (a) The responsible editor,
- (b) The publisher,
- (c) The printer, and

(d) Whoever has, in the exercise of his calling, disseminated the publication, shall—in so far as they are not culpable as perpetrators or accomplices—be punished for negligence with a fine not exceeding £200, or with imprisonment for not more than one year, if they are unable to show that they have exercised all the care that could be reasonably demanded of them, or that there were circumstances which made such impossible for them. The said persons—having fully complied with all the formalities of this law—shall, however, be unpunished in event of their pointing out (on the first demand made by the State

Attorney, or on his behalf) some one as the writer or presenter (of the incriminating article) or as occupying one of the positions—superior to their own—named in the above list, and provided that such a one (so pointed out) is actually within the jurisdiction of the court, or is deceased within the period during which dissemination has taken place.

Article 9. (a) The printer and the publisher transgressing Article 2 hereof;

(b) The responsible editor and publisher transgressing Article 3 hereof; and

(c) The publisher transgressing Article 4 hereof; shall be punished with a fine not exceeding £50, or with imprisonment for not longer than six (6) months.

Whoever, contrary to any prohibition of the State President, as specified in Article 6, shall disseminate any publication printed or published outside the republic, shall be punished with a fine not exceeding £250, or with imprisonment for not longer than one year. On a second or further offense of a responsible editor, publisher or printer of any periodical publication (through which they transgress the law), the publication of such periodical can be prohibited by a judgment of the court for a period not exceeding two (2) years.

Article 10. This law does not apply to publications made on behalf of, by order of, or with the consent of, the Government.

Article 11. This law comes into force immediately upon publication in the Staats Courant.

ALIEN EXPULSION BILL.

Whereas, Article 6 of the Grondwet provides that the territory of the republic stands open to every alien provided he submits to the laws of the country; and, whereas, no legal stipulations exist regulating the right of the Government to put aliens who do not conform to the laws of the republic, and who are a source of danger to the public peace and order, across the border, the First Volksraad having considered the memorials and the crisis in January last, resolves to reconsider the law, although the same has not been published for three months in the Staats Courant.

Article 1. All aliens inciting to disobedience or transgression of the law by word of mouth, in writing, or by public means, by which public peace or order is or can be endangered, may be expelled by order

of the President, acting on the advice and with the consent of the Executive; and after having obtained the advice of the State Attorney, such alien shall be obliged to leave the state within a specified time. During this interval he will be allowed to avail himself of the provisions of Article 5 of this law. In case the High Court pronounces his objections unfounded, effect will immediately be given to the order of expulsion. In case the High Court decides that he is a burgher of the republic he shall fall under Article 2.

Article 2. The State Executive, with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, and after having obtained the consent of the State Attorney, shall have the power, in case it appears that foreigners or burghers are dangerous to the peace and good order of the republic by inciting to contravention of the law, to order their residence in a different part of the republic and to prohibit their residence in certain places.

Article 3. Burghers of the South African Republic may not be banished across the border of the republic.

Article 4. The President shall report to the Volksraad any steps taken by him in accordance with Articles 1 and 2.

Article 5. Every one to whom Article 1 of this law is applicable, and who claims to be a burgher of the South African Republic may (but on this ground alone) appeal by written petition to the High Court.

Article 6. Any alien who does not comply with the order of the State Executive, according to Sections 1 and 2 of this law, shall be liable to six months' imprisonment, to be imposed by the Landdrost under whose jurisdiction he resides. After he has served his term of imprisonment he shall be put across the border. Any alien so expelled returning to the republic without the consent of the President, with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, shall be liable to a maximum imprisonment of twelve months, after serving which term he shall be put across the border.

Article 7. A burgher not obeying the order of the President shall be subject to at most six months' imprisonment.

Article 8. Any alien punished in accordance with the provisions of this law shall be bound to submit himself to personal and anthropometrical examination.

Article 9. This law comes into effect immediately after publication in the Staats Courant.

CHAPTER XXXII.

INVESTIGATION AND FINDING BY THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

The South African Committee appointed by the British Parliament to inquire into the Transvaal raid met February 16, 1897, in Westminster Hall. The general public was excluded, but the hall was crowded with members of Parliament, counsel, reporters and others interested in the inquiry.

Cecil Rhodes was sworn and read a statement, which, he said, covered the whole ground. It recited the discontent caused by the "restrictions and impositions of the Transvaal Government," and the "denial of civil rights until the position of foreigners at Johannesburg became intolerable."

"After long efforts," the statement continued, "the people there, despairing of redress by constitutional means, resolved to seek, by extra-constitutional means, such changes of government as could give the majority of the population, possessing more than half of the land, nine-tenths of the wealth, and paying nineteen-twentieths of the taxes, a due share in the administration. I sympathized with them, and, as a land owner, was largely interested. As a citizen of Cape Colony I suffered under the persistently unfriendly attitude of the Transvaal toward Cape Colony. I assisted in the movement with press and influence, and, acting within my rights, placed troops under Dr. Jameson's orders on the border of the Transvaal, prepared to act under certain circumstances. I did not tell the Chartered Company anything in regard to the raid. Dr. Jameson went in without my authority. All my actions were greatly influenced by my belief that the policy of the present Transvaal Government was to introduce the influence of another power (Germany) and thereby complicate the situation."

Sir William Vernon Harcourt, the Liberal leader in the House of Commons, examined Mr. Rhodes, but the latter refused to answer questions relating to the smuggling of arms into the Transvaal. Pressed by Sir William as to what right he had to send troops to the Transvaal border, Mr. Rhodes replied:

"I have very probably done wrong, but there is another movement

now which has much support, namely, the incursion of the Greeks. That's wrong, too, no doubt."

Sir William Vernon Harcourt continued the examination February 19. Mr. Rhodes frequently said that he acted solely in the capacity of a private citizen. He did not attempt to defend himself from the charges of having applied the resources of the South Africa Company in aid of the raid, and asserted that he had not communicated on the subject with the company in London.

Incidentally the sensation of that week in London was the announcement by Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons that a telegram had been received from the British agent at Pretoria saying President Kruger had filed a bill of indemnity against the British Government, which is to pay it, "or caused it to be paid," as a result of the Jameson raid, £667,938 3s 3d being asked as a "material charge" and "£1,000,000 for moral and intellectual damage," not including "legitimate private claims which may be advanced," emphasizing the shillings and pence.

In every word of his short reply Mr. Chamberlain managed to express every phase of scorn, defiance and contempt.

During the session of the Parliament's Committee, February 23, Dr. Jameson appeared among the audience, and the Prince of Wales on entering the hall shook hands with Mr. Rhodes. The latter, when proceedings opened, was questioned by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannermann, late Secretary of State for War, in the Rosebery Cabinet. Mr. Rhodes said that he did not see any difference between the cases of Crete and the Transvaal, "except that the Cretans, who have the popular sympathy of England, are foreigners claiming civil rights, whereas in the Transvaal it was our countrymen who were seeking civil rights."

Continuing, Mr. Rhodes reiterated his statement that the agitation at Johannesburg would continue until popular rights were granted to its inhabitants. Answering a question, he said: "I have been told that I left Johannesburg for this trouble, but I have come to the conclusion that it was Johannesburg which let me in. Johannesburgers tried the reform road prior to the revolution. They petitioned President Kruger, whose promises, however, were not kept."

Mr. Rhodes asserted that his determination to proceed to extreme measures was reached in conjunction with the leaders at Johannes-

burg. It was intended to change the Government, owing to the hopelessness of obtaining redress for their grievances.

The examination of Mr. Rhodes was continued February 26. He admitted he had instructed his agent in London, Mr. Rutherford Harris, to confidentially communicate the plans of the secret movement to "certain persons in England," but he refused to divulge their names. The witness was then asked whether his having a force ready to march into the Transvaal was consistent with his position as Premier of Cape Colony. He replied: "It is for this committee to judge of my conduct."

Mr. Edward Blake called attention to the passage in the statement read by Mr. Rhodes at the opening of the inquiry relative to a foreign power, and said:

"I accept fully your views that you had adequate grounds for that statement."

Mr. Rhodes replied:

"I am glad you put it that way. If I stated my reasons for the belief, perhaps it would do harm and cause irritation to a friendly power."

Mr. Henry Labouchere next examined Mr. Rhodes. He asked:

"Was Germany the power you believed President Kruger favored?"

"Yes," was the reply.

After this Mr. Rhodes read extracts from a speech delivered by President Kruger before the German Club of Pretoria, on the occasion of Emperor William's birthday, in 1895, in which the Boer President said Great Britain had relinquished her claim of suzerainty over the Transvaal, and declared that he had been able to make a treaty with Germany so that "if one nation tried to kick the Transvaalers other nations would try to stop her."

Mr. Rhodes explained that he believed President Kruger intended by this speech to claim the right to make such a treaty and confirm it without the consent of Great Britain. He further asserted that the whole tendency of the Transvaal policy was in "favor of foreigners, especially Germans, at the expense of the English."

Mr. Labouchere suggested that President Kruger's speech may have been an after-dinner oration. "But," Mr. Rhodes pointed out, "President Kruger only drinks water."

Mr. Labouchere questioned Mr. Rhodes regarding his meaning of "civil rights," and Mr. Rhodes, with a vehement gesture, exclaimed:

"The Johannesburgers have no civil rights, and no body of Englishmen will ever remain in any place for any period without insisting upon their civil rights."

Mr. Rhodes later absolutely denied that Mr. Chamberlain had any knowledge of the revolutionary movement.

Mr. Rhodes, March 2, 1897, was again questioned by Mr. Labouchere. He reiterated the statement that he was prepared to again assist in a raid and revolution in the Transvaal; but, he added, the next time he would "do so legally."

He was then asked why he had not accepted the responsibility of coming to Dr. Jameson's assistance during the latter's trial, and he replied that his appearance would not have benefited Dr. Jameson, because he would have been obliged to say that he did not authorize the raid, adding: "I think it most unfortunate that the Cape Parliament's report on the raid was published. If I had been a jurymen I would have said that the man behind Jameson was the real author of the raid, and I would have dealt leniently with Jameson. I sent a telegram saying that if I could save Jameson a day's imprisonment by coming home I would do so."

When Mr. Rhodes was questioned on the financial feature of the raid he said he held from 40,000 to 50,000 shares of the South Africa Company, adding that he did not think the success of the raid would have increased the value of these shares in any way.

The examination of Mr. Rhodes was finished March 5. It developed that day that he had paid the fines, amounting to \$250,000, of the members of the Johannesburg Reform Committee, convicted of conspiring to overthrow the Transvaal Government.

Mr. Rhodes, replying to questions, dwelt upon the relations between Germany and the Transvaal, which, he believed, indicated a mutual attempt to make a treaty. There was no revolutionary movement in Johannesburg, he said, until every effort to secure necessary reforms had failed.

Mr. Chamberlain brought testimony showing the alleged harshness of the Transvaal laws toward the Outlanders, and asked Mr. Rhodes if he thought the Government of the Transvaal was dangerous to the peace of South Africa.

Mr. Rhodes replied dryly:

"What do you think?"

W. Z. Schreiner, formerly Attorney General of the Cape Colony, testified that he very much doubted whether there were any steps which Mr. Rhodes could have taken that would have stopped the raid. The overthrow of the existing Government of the Transvaal Republic, he added, would greatly endanger the peace of South Africa. He had positive knowledge that the Transvaal Government was extremely anxious to observe their treaty obligations with England. He added that Mr. Rhodes, when Premier of Cape Colony, tried to delay the Cabinet's action in proclaiming the Government's repudiation of the raid, with the idea of gaining time to allow the Johannesburg insurgents to join the Jameson raiders before the former were aware of the Government's attitude, thus giving the raiders a better chance to reach their goal. He denied that the Boers were animated by hostility to Mr. Rhodes, and suggested that the disputed points of the London Convention might be arbitrated, to which Mr. Chamberlain retorted:

"I have never before heard a responsible person make such a suggestion to a paramount power."

Dr. Jameson read a statement before the committee, in which he referred to many conversations had with Mr. Rhodes, at the end of 1893, regarding the federation of South Africa and the obstacles presented by the Transvaal. He said:

"In the middle of 1894 Mr. Rhodes and John Hays Hammond (the American engineer) were with me in Matabeleland, when the position of the Transvaal and the grievances of the Outlanders were freely discussed. Mr. Hammond asserted that it was impossible for the economic conditions of the Rand to continue, and that unless a radical change was made there would be a rising of the people at Johannesburg. I was much impressed with Mr. Hammond's representations, and afterwards, in company with Mr. Hammond, I went to Johannesburg and Pretoria and verified the accuracy of his views. The result of these investigations was that the Chartered Company's police and volunteers were prepared, so that if a revolt occurred and help was needed we should be in a position to send it. Subsequently, in 1895, I revisited Johannesburg and found the people determined to bring matters to an issue. During the course of protracted conferences, the leaders informed me in regard to their plans and wishes. The first proposal was to act alone, but my troops were to be in readiness on the border in case they were needed. Later the leaders concluded

there was no hope of success without the help of an armed force, and they decided that the only way to obtain reforms was to change the administration of the Transvaal, and that the safest mode of effecting this would be to have a sufficient force at Johannesburg to induce President Kruger to take a plebiscite of the whole population to decide who was President. They, therefore, invited my help, and it was arranged to take my force to Johannesburg to maintain order and bring pressure to bear upon the Transvaal while the redress of the grievances was enforced by the people. I therefore obtained the letter signed by the four leaders, with which the committee is familiar, and it was agreed that simultaneously with the rising in Johannesburg, at the end of December, I was to start."

Dr. Jameson added that Rhodes agreed to these arrangements. Continuing, the statement dealt with the preparations to cross the frontier, the suspicions of the Boers, and the communications between Dr. Jameson and the leaders at Johannesburg, "who never intimated any intention of abandoning their determination of appealing to arms. Under my arrangements with the Johannesburgers I felt I had no alternative but to proceed, and I started the same day. No communication whatever was received from Mr. Rhodes or from any one at Cape Town authorizing or directing my force to move on Johannesburg. I acted entirely upon my own judgment. Major Heany did not bring me a message from Mr. Rhodes."

Dr. Jameson, answering a question, said he knew he had not done the right thing because he had not succeeded, adding that if he had succeeded he knew he would have been forgiven.

Colonel Francis Rhodes, brother of Cecil Rhodes, testified that he acted as agent for his brother at Johannesburg from the summer of 1895 until the Jameson raid. Both he and his brother, he added, had taken part in the agitation for redressing the grievances of the Outlanders. When funds were wanted for such or other purposes Colonel Rhodes drew on Mr. Rhodes through the British South Africa Company.

Sir John Willoughby, the military leader of the raid, who was released from Holloway Jail a few days previously, after serving a ten months' sentence for violating the Foreign Enlistment Act, was examined April 2.

On the refusal of the witness to divulge the nature of a confidential



TAKING OBSERVATIONS FROM A BALLOON IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.



BALLOONS USED IN MILITARY OPERATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

communication made to the war office, Mr. Labouchere said: "If we cannot have this information this inquiry is a farce."

This exclamation aroused cries of "Order," but Mr. Labouchere continued: "It is hushing everybody up. I say so publicly. It is a waste of time to continue the committee."

After the reading, April 6, before the committee of a confidential correspondence between Sir John Willoughby, and General Sir Redvers Buller, the Adjutant General of the forces, the former having declared that he acted under orders, as Matabele administrator, in the bona fide belief that he had Imperial authority to do so, General Buller said that the War Office had duly considered the plea, but that Sir John Willoughby ought to have known that an order to attack a friendly state was *ultra vires*, besides which he had disregarded the order of the High Commissioner to retire from the Transvaal territory.

After this Sir William Vernon Harcourt examined Sir John Willoughby with the view of obtaining his reasons for believing he had Imperial authority for the raid, but the witness declined to say anything beyond admitting he had private talks with Dr. Jameson on the subject, which caused Sir William to exclaim:

"Then I must clear the room and settle this question once for all."

The room was thereupon cleared, and the committee entered into a private discussion. When the doors were reopened the chairman informed Sir John Willoughby that he must answer the questions, but he need not repeat Dr. Jameson's exact words. The witness, however, still declined to answer the questions, declared he was prepared to take the consequences of so doing, and showed no signs of yielding either to Sir William Harcourt's persuasion or to the kindly but stern admonitions of the chairman of the committee.

The sixteenth sitting of the committee was held April 9. Dr. Jameson arrived with Sir John Willoughby, and the former was placed in the witness box. The chairman explained to Dr. Jameson the circumstances of Sir John's refusal to divulge the subjects of the conversations regarding the raid, and Dr. Jameson said that if the committee had asked Sir John Willoughby to explain the circumstances under which a certain letter to the War Office was written, he would probably have given the whole story. The witness added:

"Sir John Willoughby and myself have reviewed our whole conver-

sation of those six months, and the evidence I have already given represents the true conclusion. Sir John Willoughby learned that under certain circumstances his officers would be deprived of their commissions, and he consulted me in regard to that fact. He afterward guaranteed them, rightly or wrongly, their commissions before they crossed the Transvaal frontier, and by my advice he sent a letter to the War Office with the view of saving his officers' careers from ruin. He wrote the letter in the strongest and shortest terms possible. Not as a self-justification, but, feeling it incumbent upon him to do something. I did not see the letter before it was sent; but when I ascertained its terms in the prison grounds at Holloway I objected to its wording."

Dr. Jameson was questioned by the chairman as to whether the Imperial authorities referred to meant those of the Cape or London, and witness replied that he had in mind mostly those of the Cape; but he was willing to admit that the officers "might have formed an exaggerated idea," and gathered more therefrom than he had intended to convey.

Dr. Jameson was interrogated as to Sir John Willoughby's guaranteeing the officers' commissions and admitted that he would have done the same, because he expected the affair to succeed, and was confident that in that case his countrymen would have forgiven him and would not have touched the officers' commissions.

Sir John Willoughby admitted that the letter was drafted by Mr. B. F. Hawkesley, the lawyer of the British South Africa Company, and said he supposed Dr. Jameson saw it before it was posted, and was horrified to discover he had not. He, the witness, knew perfectly well he could neither retain his own commission nor take it back.

Sir John Willoughby also said he did not defend the wording of the letter, and asserted that he could not give a better version than Dr. Jameson of the private conversations which had taken place between them, and admitted he was quite wrong in using the words "Imperial authorities."

During the course of his replies Dr. Jameson indignantly denied having told the officers that he had the Queen's Government at his back, asserting that it would have been "idiotic and absolutely untrue to say so."

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach interjected the remark that if Dr. Jameson had done wrong he had "been punished for doing so."

Later Sir John Willoughby said he gathered from his talks with Dr. Jameson that if he succeeded in entering Johannesburg the Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa would do the rest.

The next witness was Major Heany, American officer, who denied that message he took from the Reform Committee to Dr. Jameson, asking for a postponement of the latter's action, was submitted to or seen by Mr. Rhodes.

Dr. Wolf, formerly a member of the Johannesburg Reform Committee, was the next witness. He said he was desirous of having Dr. Jameson delay taking action, because the people of Johannesburg were not ready. Part of their plan, he added, was to seize the arsenal at Pretoria, and get a supply of arms and ammunition, which they badly needed. But, the witness continued, the Boers got wind of the plot.

Mr. Chamberlain made a statement, April 30, before the Parliamentary Committee, under oath, declaring explicitly that neither himself nor his colleagues at the Colonial Office had, until the day before the raid, the slightest suspicion of anything in the nature of an armed invasion of the Transvaal.

Mr. Rutherford Harris, counsel for the South Africa Company, then made a long statement detailing his connection with the movements in the Transvaal.

The Duke of Abercorn, president of the British South Africa Company, was examined. He asserted that the Board of Directors of the Company had no knowledge of the raid before it occurred, nor suspicion of any intention upon the part of any one to use the Company's forces against the Transvaal.

During the second day of his examination in refuting the suggestion of Mr. Labouchere, that the raid was engineered for stock-jobbing purposes, the Duke of Abercorn said he did not buy or sell a single share of the Company's stock during the last six months of 1895.

The Duke of Fife, son-in-law of the Prince of Wales, testified that he had no knowledge whatever of the raid before it occurred, nor had he any suspicion that the company's troops might be used any way in connection with the trouble at Johannesburg or elsewhere in the Transvaal. He admitted that he had sold 1,000 shares of the company's stock during the autumn of 1895. The price, he explained, was

then about £6 (\$30), but he failed to see what that had to do with the raid.

When asked if his sale of stock in the Autumn of 1895 had anything to do with fears of disturbances in the Transvaal, he replied: "Certainly not. I repudiate the idea with indignation. Lord Gifford explained that the enrollment of the Rhodesia Horse and the importation of arms was not connected with the Transvaal. I had no suspicions that Mr. Rhodes was financing a revolution until after the raid."

Sir Horace Farquhar, Bart., a director of the company and Member of Parliament for West Marylebone, said he sold 500 shares of the company's stock in 1895; but, he explained, the raid could not be connected with the market, because the directors were absolutely ignorant of it.

Another director, Mr. Cawston, indorsed the statement of the Duke of Abercorn and the Duke of Fife. He admitted having sold 3,000 shares of the company's stock at the end of 1895; but he claimed this was an ordinary commercial transaction.

Mr. Chamberlain testified that he was convinced Mr. Harris had not said to him that a force of the British South Africa Company's troops would be on the border ready to assist the Outlanders if an uprising occurred at Johannesburg. Such a statement, added Mr. Chamberlain, would have aroused his attention at once. Mr. Chamberlain also said he had never heard from Mr. Harris any allusion which could arouse suspicion.

Referring to the supposed incriminating telegrams which Mr. B. F. Hawkesley, counsel for Mr. Rhodes, showed the officials of the Colonial Office, Mr. Chamberlain said that when he returned them to Mr. Hawkesley the latter distinctly remarked that he had no objection to their publication.

Touching on the subject of the raid itself, Mr. Chamberlain said the moment a suggestion was brought to his notice he cabled to Cape Town, telling the Governor of Cape Colony to warn Mr. Rhodes, who was then Premier of Cape Colony. Mr. Chamberlain explained that nobody, however unfriendly, would believe that he (Mr. Chamberlain) had any knowledge of the raid or of the preparations for the raid, in view of the fact that when suspicion was aroused he had not lost an instant in taking every possible means to defeat it.

Here Mr. Labouchere asked Mr. Chamberlain whether he would

like the missing telegrams to appear, to which the Secretary of State for the Colonies replied:

"I have already said I would."

"Would you apply to Mr. Rhodes?" Mr. Labouchere asked.

"I do not think I have any right to make such an appeal," answered Mr. Chamberlain, "but I have not the least objection to doing so."

Lord Selborne, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies and son-in-law of the Marquis of Salisbury, testified June 4 to the effect that the Colonial Office had absolutely no hint of Dr. Jameson's plans, which statement was followed by brief speeches from counsel.

At the committee's session, July 2, four telegrams exchanged between Miss Flora Shaw, the colonial editor of the Times, and Cecil Rhodes were produced. The first from Miss Shaw asked for the date of the commencement of the plans, owing to the necessity of instructing European correspondents of the London Times, so that they might use their influence in favor of Mr. Rhodes. The second dispatch pointed out the danger of delay, as the European situation was considered serious, and a protest from the other powers might paralyze the Government. The third message says Mr. Chamberlain "is sound in case of the interference of European powers. But have special reason to believe he wishes you to act immediately."

A dispatch from Mr. Rhodes to Miss Shaw read:

"Inform Mr. Chamberlain I shall get through all right if he supports me. But he must not send cables like the one sent to the High Commissioner. I'll win and South Africa will belong to England."

Miss Shaw testified that the first telegram was sent on her own responsibility and that its contents were unknown to the editor of the Times for some weeks afterward. She denied having ever given information to the Colonial Office regarding Mr. Rhodes' plans, and said she had never received any information from the Colonial Office.

As to the cable message saying Mr. Chamberlain was "sound," Miss Shaw explained that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had publicly declared his attitude on the subject of South Africa.

Mr. Chamberlain, replying to a question of the chairman, said:

"There has been so much baseless chattering that I had better state exactly what happened at the Colonial Office. In discussing the possibility of an uprising, Under Secretary Fairfield remarked: 'If the Johannesburgers are going to rise, it is to be hoped that they will do

it soon; having special knowledge of the subject.' I think this remark gave the ground for saying it was wished the rising would occur immediately."

Answering a question relative to Mr. Fairfield's remark, Mr. Chamberlain said it was a "casual observation," and, he added, it was possible Mr. Fairfield was laughing at Miss Shaw.

The reports of the Parliamentary Committee were agreed to in the middle of July, 1897. The majority report expressed the opinion that, whatever justification there might have been for the action on the part of the people of Johannesburg, there was none whatever for Mr. Rhodes' conduct in subsidizing, organizing, and stimulating an armed insurrection against the Government of the Transvaal.

A heavy responsibility, the report added, remained with Mr. Rhodes, in spite of the fact that, at the last moment Dr. Jameson invaded the Transvaal without Mr. Rhodes' direct sanction. The committee found "that he seriously embarrassed both the Imperial and Colonial Governments; that his proceedings resulted in an astounding breach of international comity; that he utilized his position and the great interests he controlled in order to assist and support revolution, and deceived the High Commissioner, as well as concealed his views from the members of the Colonial Ministry and the directors of the Chartered Company."

The committee was also of the opinion that of the South Africa Company's directors who were examined, only Mr. Beit and Mr. Maguire were cognizant of the plans of Mr. Rhodes, and as Mr. Beit was intrusted with the money to promote a revolutionary movement, shared the full responsibility for the consequences.

In conclusion, the committee united in condemning the raid, but at the same time expressed the opinion that nothing would be gained by proceeding with the proposed extension of inquiry into the administration of the South Africa Company. It declared the Governor of Cape Colony and Mr. Chamberlain and the Under Secretaries of the Colonial Office blameless, taking the ground that there was no evidence that any one of them was cognizant of the plans for the raid. But the committee pronounced Sir Graham Bower guilty of a grave dereliction of duty in failing to decline to receive from Mr. Rhodes confidential communications wholly incompatible with the duty he owed the High Commissioner, whose secretary he was.

A minority report presented by Mr. Labouchere found that the plan

for the raid was concocted by Mr. Beit and Mr. Rhodes, and that Messrs. Phillips, Hammond, Colonel Rhodes (Cecil Rhodes' brother), and Leonard, sought to carry it through.

According to Mr. Labouchere, the raid was devised in order that certain wealthy men might become more wealthy.

"Rhodes," continued the minority report, "may possibly be influenced to a certain extent by a vague and hazy idea of a vast African federation under the British flag, in which he would play the leading part, but he was also influenced and is influenced by financial consideration."

The minority report concluded as follows:

"We regret that the alleged complicity of the Colonial Office has not been probed to the bottom in order the more effectually to remove any idea that there may have been some truth in the statements of certain witnesses that the secret aims of Mr. Rhodes were more or less clearly revealed to Mr. Chamberlain."

The House of Commons was crowded July 26, in expectation of a spirited debate on the majority report of the South Africa Committee. The Peeresses' Gallery and the Ladies' Gallery were crowded with well-known women.

The Honorable Phillip James Stanhope, Liberal, Member for Burnley, moved, amid loud cheers, a resolution that the House regretted the inconclusive character of the report, more particularly its failure to recommend that specific steps be taken with regard to the admitted complicity of Mr. Rhodes, and asking that Mr. Hawkesley, the attorney of Mr. Rhodes, be ordered to attend at the bar of the House, and to produce the telegrams which he refused to show the committee.

Mr. Stanhope attacked the South Africa Company, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Rhodes, and expressed a desire that the latter should be deposed from his membership in the Privy Council. He also argued that the charter of the company should be materially modified, which was done as we have shown in a previous chapter.

Mr. Labouchere spoke in the same strain, saying he thought that if Canada should be raided by the Secretary of State of United States without the assent of the President, Great Britain would not be satisfied if the Secretary of State were treated as Mr. Rhodes had been.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach remarked the Government would have to consider whether Mr. Rhodes should remain in the Privy Council. But

in dealing with him it must take into consideration the services he had rendered. All the damaging rumors alleging complicity on the part of the Colonial Office, the speaker pointed out, had been exploded as fast as they had been presented.

The Liberal leader, Sir William Vernon-Harcourt, defended the committee. He said he thought the majority report conclusive on all important points, strongly defended Mr. Chamberlain, and declared that his action at the time the raid occurred disproved all insinuations of complicity. The speaker added that the charges that the committee had plotted to suppress certain evidence were worthy only of contempt. Sir William also expressed the hope that he would not live to see the day when a majority of the House should declare by vote that they did not trust the word of its statesmen.

Mr. Chamberlain announced that he was glad to be able to say that the position of South Africa was better than it had been at any time since the raid, and, he added, President Kruger was desirous of meeting the Government in a proper spirit. He also believed that the time was not far distant when Rhodesia would have self-government.

Continuing, Mr. Chamberlain announced that the charter of the South Africa Company would not be revoked, but that means would be taken to strengthen the directorate so as to secure more direct Imperial control of Rhodesia.

A vote was then taken and Mr. Stanhope's motion was lost—304 to 77.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

GLIDING TOWARDS WAR.

We must now glance backward. Cape Colony in August, 1898, was in the throes of an exciting political struggle between the Progressives, headed by Cecil Rhodes, and the Afrikander Bund, largely composed of Boers, headed by Dr. Hofmeyer, who was backed by President Kruger. Mr. Rhodes was fighting to regain the power he had lost by the Jameson raid, and he worked vigorously, contrary to his pronounced principles. It was said that he would probably not take the Premiership if the Progressives won, but would be a Member of the Assembly and be the power behind the throne and carry out his South Africa Imperial schemes, which were thwarted by President Kruger.

Charges were made against President Kruger of sending money to help the Afrikander Bund party. Personalities were rampant, and the air was thick with the most serious allegations.

Eventually, September 1, 1898, Rhodes was elected to the Cape Assembly from Barkley West, much to the disgust of the Boers.

Private advices from the Transvaal to people in London having large interests there indicated that serious trouble with Great Britain was brewing, while at Johannesburg considerable commercial distress prevailed.

The Transvaal Government at about this time was mounting guns at Johannesburg and conveying Maxims, shells, rifles and cartridges to that point. Eight railroad cars loaded with war material were paraded through the streets of Johannesburg and carried under escort of an artillery detachment to the fort on the hill outside the town.

A dispatch from Berlin, some time later, said it was believed there that Dr. Leyds, the European representative of the South African Republic, had succeeded in raising a loan of £6,000,000 (\$30,000,000) in behalf of the Transvaal Government.

Johannesburg, in December, 1898, was seething with discontent, as on the eve of the Jameson raid, in consequence of proposed Government measures which the Outlanders regarded as being a "fresh series of impositions." In addition, racial animosity was intensifying at the vexatious treatment of the British Indian and Cape "boys."

There was a serious development when a Boer policeman, in December, murdered an Englishman named Edgar, entering the latter's house and shooting him. The policeman was arrested upon the charge of murder, but the following day the charge was reduced to one of manslaughter, and the policeman was allowed his liberty on bail. The British Diplomatic Agent at Pretoria demanded a restitution of the charge of murder, and a mass meeting, which was attended by 5,000 Outlanders, was held at Johannesburg to protest against the murder of Edgar and to present the British Consul with a strongly worded petition to the Queen, reciting the wrongs of the Outlanders and appealing for protection in such steps as may be found necessary to "terminate the existing intolerable state of affairs." There were no speeches owing to the laws prohibiting political gatherings, but the demonstration was very impressive. The petition was presented to the Consul on the balcony of the Consulate, the whole multitude signifying assent by uplifting their hands. References to the Boer policeman elicited shouts of "Lynch him." The meeting, however, was peaceful with the exception of a slight affray with the police at its conclusion.

The Rand Post, the Boer organ of Johannesburg, discussed the prospect of war with Great Britain and advised that on the first British advance the women and children at Johannesburg be given twenty-four hours to leave and that the whole place be razed and that "the perpetrators of these turbulent proceedings, if caught, should be thrown into the deep shafts of their mines, with the debris of their machinery for costly shrouds," and adding that "the whole of Johannesburg will exult if the Afrikaner Ward is converted into a gigantic rubbish heap, as a mighty tombstone for the shot-down authors of the monstrous deed."

The Pretoria Volkstein suggested that January 2 be observed as "Jameson Day," and that Dr. Jameson be burned in effigy.

Another issue of the Rand Post contained further inflammatory articles. The paper called the Outlanders' proceedings "a rebellious plot against the existence of the Republic," and styled the petition "a lying and libelous document compiled in conjunction with the British Agent's office." It suggested that if a couple of wire-pullers were shot it would avert a formal war, and said that Great Britain should be requested to appoint a new Consular staff "failing of immediate compliance with which request, the exequaturs of the members of the present staff would be withdrawn."

The British Consul at Johannesburg said that the Outlanders' demonstration impressed him as based upon deep public feeling, while the deputation which presented the petition was, to his personal knowledge, composed of men of high character and standing.

The correspondent of a London newspaper at Johannesburg cabled:

"Signs are multiplying that the Outlander sentiment has been aroused to the point of asserting claims of justice. The ex-reform leaders are debarred, under pain of banishment, from interfering in politics, but they declare that despite the Pretoria terrorism, they will not keep silence much longer. The present temper of the community is such that opposing demonstrations will almost inevitably be followed by serious riots.

"I learn on high authority that during the negotiations at Pretoria regarding Saturday's demonstration, the British Agent carefully avoided any admission that the British Government assented to the Public Meetings Act. He even suggested that Great Britain might test the legality of that measure under the London Convention.

"The present position has aroused the deepest public excitement known since the Jameson raid, and it is plain that something must be done quickly to terminate a humiliating and intolerable situation.

"President Kruger, in the course of an interview, asserted that he deprecated the warlike articles published by the Rand Post, and declared that he would prohibit the proposed anti-Jameson demonstration."

The British Agent at Pretoria, Mr. Conyngham Greene, declined to forward the petition of the Outlanders appealing to Queen Victoria for protection. He based his refusal on the ground that the Transvaal Government was attending to the grievances described in the petition.

A prominent Outlander said:

"The logic of events is driving England towards interfering in the Transvaal, even more strongly than the United States were driven to intervene in Cuba. President Kruger has become very friendly to England since he lost his brief hope of German support kindled by Emperor William's telegram. He is probably an honest fanatic, but he is in the hands of a ring, all rich, whose object is to squeeze as much as possible out of the foreigners."

There was a panic in Pretoria, January 1, 1899, arising out of rumors that the Krugersdorp burghers contemplated an invasion and

intended to burn Dr. Jameson in effigy. The Transvaal troops were ordered to hold themselves in readiness, and the guards at the Presidency were trebled; but nothing happened.

A public meeting of the British residents of Johannesburg was held January 14, 1899, with the object of ventilating their grievances. A large crowd of burghers and Afrikaners were present and the attempt to read the formulated petition to the Queen was the signal for a great uproar. A free fight ensued in which chairs, benches and tables were broken and the pieces used as weapons. The fighting then became general. The Boers, who had occupied the building an hour before the commencement of the meeting, threw boxes, chairs and tables from the galleries upon the Outlanders in the arena. The whole interior was wrecked, the police remained passive spectators, and the wreckage made a huge pile on the main floor of the hall. At one stage of the fighting, it was asserted, the police caught a young Boer trying to set fire to the debris, but they are said to have liberated him after a mild rebuke.

At this point, said a correspondent who was present, a fresh contingent of Boers invaded the hall, flourishing sticks and bars of iron and attacking every Outlander they came across unarmed. The Outlanders made for the door, escaping after a terrible scuffle, in which many were injured. Outside the hall they formed up, waiting for a further attack.

The Boers then held a mass meeting inside, wrecked the hall, emerged, and marched to the police barracks, cheering the Government and hooting the Outlanders. Huge crowds thronged the streets throughout the night.

Many scenes of violence occurred in the streets after the meeting and matters began to look ugly, when the Police Commandant persuaded the Boers to depart, the English remaining behind and singing their national anthem.

Two Englishmen who were arrested after the meeting for disturbing the peace were ultimately released.

President Kruger and the Boer authorities were said to be greatly annoyed, because the President had promised to permit the meeting, if conducted in an orderly fashion.

The Government of the Transvaal, May 4, 1899, issued the official correspondence with Great Britain in reference to the dynamite concession to German firms, which Mr. Chamberlain protested was a

breach of the convention between the Transvaal and Great Britain. Replying to this protest, the Transvaal repudiated the idea that the concession was a breach of the Convention, and declared that Great Britain was not justified in protesting against it. It was added that the Republic itself was the best judge of its own interests.

Nine thousand Outlanders, composed of British, Americans, Germans, French, Dutch and others, petitioned the Transvaal Government to ignore the Outlander petition, which by that time had been sent to Queen Victoria through Sir Alfred Milner, Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner of South Africa. These latest petitioners declared that the original Outlander petition was the "work of capitalists, the attainment of whose wishes would be detrimental to the public, who are perfectly satisfied with the existing administration."

The state of mutual suspicion between Great Britain and the Transvaal was intensified by the dynamite question, the continued refusal of the Transvaal Government to redress the alleged grievances of the Outlanders, the agitation of the Outlanders, and the reassertion of British suzerainty, made the war clouds grow blacker and blacker.

The Morning Post, of London, referring to the official correspondence of the dynamite concession, said that President Kruger had "clearly reached the end of his tether" and that he must "disavow and withdraw the Transvaal's reply to Mr. Chamberlain's protest or the suzerain state must dictate to the vassal state the rights that suzerainty confers."

Then came a proposal for a meeting between President Kruger and the British High Commissioner, to which the Volksraad gave its approval, the general opinion being that the meeting would clear the air of most of the existing political troubles.

The arrest at Johannesburg, May 16, 1899, of eight alleged former British officers on the charge of high treason had caused intense excitement in Pretoria, to which city the prisoners were brought by a special train. After they had been lodged in jail they were visited by the British Diplomatic Agent.

The arrests were effected by a detective who joined the movement, which, it is asserted, was for the purpose of enrolling men in order to cause an outbreak of rebellion. Incriminating documents were found upon the prisoners.

The men arrested were said to be Captain Patterson, formerly of

the Lancers; Colonel R. F. Nicholls, Lieutenant E. J. Tremlett, Lieutenant C. A. Ellis, lately a detective at Johannesburg; Lieutenant John Allen Mitchell, formerly of the Horse Artillery; ex-Sergeants J. Fries, R. P. Hooper, and Nichols. None of them had been in the employ of the British South Africa Company. It was said that the Commissioner of Police, who had the affair in hand, had been working up the case for four months.

The Executive of the Transvaal sat in secret session that evening to consider the arrests, and during the afternoon the British Agent had an interview with President Kruger and expressed regret that men who had worn the Queen's uniform should be concerned in such a movement. President Kruger replied that he would not believe that the men were British officers until it had been proved, adding that he hoped the affair would not interfere with the proposed meeting between himself and Sir Alfred Milner.

The eight alleged revolutionists were arraigned in court at Pretoria, May 17, of that year, were charged with the capital offense of high treason and were remanded.

Sworn affidavits showed that two thousand men had been enrolled for military service, and that it was intended to arm them in Natal, to return them to the Rand and at a given signal to seize and hold the fort of Johannesburg for twenty-four hours, pending the arrival of British troops.

Later the charges against some of the prisoners were withdrawn and others of the party were committed for trial. Still later all the prisoners were discharged.

Mr. Rhodes, who was in London at the time the arrests were made, said he had heard nothing regarding the arrests made at Johannesburg, and he knew nothing about the reason for which they were made.

Mr. Chamberlain the same evening said he had heard nothing officially regarding the arrests, and did not think that "too serious a significance ought to be attached to them." No information had reached him from South Africa, he asserted, that could lead him in any way to anticipate or to explain the arrests.

The news caused considerable excitement among the Members of the House of Commons.

President Kruger's reform proposals were presented to the Volksraad May 18. They suggested that the franchise be conferred on aliens

five years after eligibility to the Second Raad, instead of ten years after such eligibility, thus making a nine years' residence in the Transvaal necessary to qualify for the full franchise.

In the House of Commons, May 19, Mr. Chamberlain gave the names and identity of the men arrested at Johannesburg. All of them, excepting Tremlett and Fries, were formerly non-commissioned officers in the British Army. He added that President Kruger had informed the British Agent at Pretoria that there was no proof that the prisoners were British officers, and that in any case the incident would not be allowed to disturb the friendly relations existing.

The Johannesburg correspondent of the London Morning Post said that facts had arisen since the arrests of the "former British officers" on charge of conspiracy to promote a rising in the Transvaal, left no doubt that the alleged plot was "engineered by Boer officials to divert attention from the real demands of the Outlanders."

The Volksraad, May 19, adopted a resolution cancelling the burgher rights that were granted in return for services rendered to the Transvaal Government at the time of the Jameson raid. This act was the cause of much ill-feeling among the Outlanders.

But it did not improve the situation.

After months of diplomatic sparring at long range President Kruger and the British High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, met at Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, May 21, and parted June 6, after discussing the situation thoroughly, but with no result. On the contrary, it was said the conference was eminently unsatisfactory.

An official summary of the meeting, from a Boer source, said President Kruger offered important concessions, but made them contingent upon the British acceptance of the principle of arbitration in regard to the difference existing between Great Britain and the Transvaal. This Great Britain had heretofore invariably refused on the ground that it would be acknowledging the equality of the two countries.

President Kruger, it was added, proposed that a sojourn of two years be necessary for naturalization, and that the full franchise be acquired five years later, coupled with property and other qualifications.

The High Commissioner of Great Britain regarded this proposal as insufficient, and made a counter proposal.

Finally, it was asserted, President Kruger intended to submit both

proposals to the Volksraad, subject to the favorable decision of Great Britain relative to arbitration.

From that time on events moved rapidly towards war.

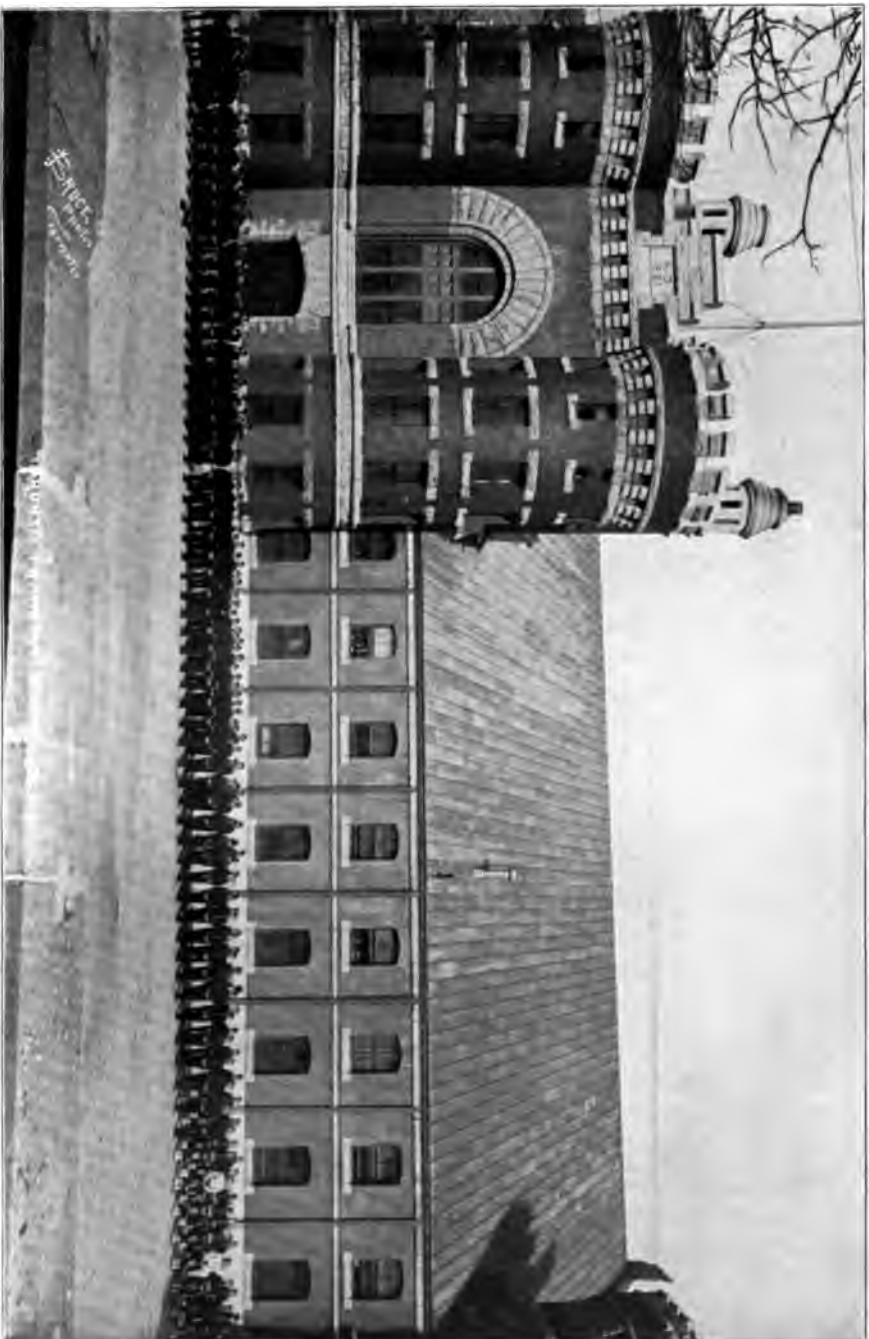
Long before this, however, the Johannesburg Volksraad adopted a new High Court law, by which any judgment of the High Court can be annulled by the Volksraad, rendering, it was claimed, all contracts and concessions unsafe, which caused a further stir among the Outlanders. The question arose out of a dispute between an American engineer, R. E. Brown, and the Transvaal Government, with reference to a mining claim which Brown had pegged out. The Volksraad, at the instance of the Transvaal Government, passed a law nullifying his claim. This law was decided by the High Court to be contrary to the Constitution, and Brown, who had sued the Government for a declaration of rights in his favor, or, in default, demanded \$5,000,-000, won his suit.

The attorney-general said that the new law would enable the Volksraad to confiscate property without compensation, a statement which caused consternation in the Rand and excited the mining market.

On the Stock Exchange in London frightened holders of various stocks threw their shares on the market and heavy declines ensued. The British newspapers loudly denounced the law as intended to enable the President to "put the screws" on the Rand in the event of a refusal of the British Government to pay the indemnity demanded by the Transvaal for the Jameson raid. The papers also pointed out as significant, in view of the belief that the new Rand law violated the London convention, that a battalion of the Suffolk Regiment, numbering 750 men, had been ordered to leave England for the Cape immediately. This was Great Britain's first real step in a warlike direction. But the Transvaal had already acted.

At a meeting, May 15, 1899, of the Boer commandants on the western border of the Transvaal, instructions were issued to the burghers to prepare to take the field at a moment's notice from Pretoria.

At about this time Great Britain took her second warlike step. The British transport *Avoca*, with 500 time-expired men on board, was due to leave Simons Town, near Cape Town, May 17, but she was ordered to remain there for the present. This order was given on the strength of the first exaggerated reports of the arrests in the Trans-



CANADIAN TROOPS ASSEMBLED AT TORONTO, CANADA, BEFORE LEAVING FOR SERVICE IN SOUTH AFRICA.



COL. W. D. OTTER, FIRST IN COMMAND OF CANADIAN TROOPS
IN SOUTH AFRICA.



COLONEL BUCHAN, SECOND IN COMMAND OF CANADIAN
TROOPS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

vaal. The furloughs of some British officers who were about to start from Cape Town for England were stopped.

It was announced from Berlin, June 11, that the idea of having the United States mediate between Great Britain and the South African Republic was being favorably discussed in important commercial circles there. It was pointed out that no power stood so close to Great Britain as the United States; while, at the same time, the fact that the republican form of government prevailed in the United States would make Washington's mediation especially acceptable to the Boers. It was also thought that the prominent social and political position occupied by the descendants of the old Knickerbocker Dutch on the East of the Union would be regarded by the Boers as a factor recommending to them the friendly intervention of the United States as an arbiter.

Nothing came of this, except the warm endorsement of such arbitration by some of the prominent American newspapers.

The Cape Colony Cabinet, June 13, addressed a remonstrance to the Imperial Government arguing that it would be inadvisable to exert immediate pressure upon the Transvaal, and expressing a desire that President Kruger be allowed time to reconsider the position. The Cabinet also pleaded that the Boers in Cape Colony would become intractable if extreme measures were taken.

In the House of Commons, June 13, Mr. Chamberlain admitted the Government had received information that the Transvaal Government was distributing arms and ammunition among the Boers in the British Colony of Natal and arming its own subjects against Great Britain.

Replying to Mr. Labouchere, who asked whether President Kruger's request for arbitration by other than foreign powers on all points of future difference had been refused by Sir Alfred Milner at the Bloemfontein conference, Mr. Chamberlain said the High Commissioner had been somewhat misreported. Sir Alfred, he explained, had distinctly refused to arbitrate all questions, but had said there might be some susceptible of agreement in that way, though not by arbitration of a foreign power. The Colonial Secretary also said that since the Bloemfontein conference President Kruger had submitted a proposal contemplating that the president of the Arbitration Board should be a foreigner.

A British Blue Book issued June 13 contained the reply of Mr.

Chamberlain to the petition of the Outlanders to the British Government, which was mailed from the Cape, May 10. It showed that Mr. Chamberlain freely admitted that there were substantial grounds for the complaints embodied in the petition, which he discussed at length, emphasizing those affecting the personal rights of the Outlanders, which infringe the spirit, he said, if not the letter, of the London Convention. Great Britain, continued Mr. Chamberlain, was not willing to depart from her attitude of reserve, but "cannot permanently ignore the arbitrary treatment of the Outlanders and the indifference of the Republic to her friendly representations."

Next, Mr. Chamberlain pointed out a policy, which, he claimed, would remove all pretext for intervention, and suggested another conference between Sir Alfred Milner and President Kruger, in which Sir Alfred would have a free hand. Mr. Chamberlain, however, laid stress on the question of the franchise in the Transvaal, and instructed the British representative to the effect that, if his suggestions on this point were not fairly received by the Boers, he need not urge any further discussion.

The Volksraad, June 14, resolved to accept President Kruger's franchise proposals, and refer them to the people before putting them into operation.

In thanking the Volksraad, President Kruger said that in these troublous times they could not know what was going to happen. Great Britain had not made even one little concession, and he could not give more. The President then reminded the Raad that God had always stood by them. War, he added, he did not want, but he would not relinquish any more.

In conclusion President Kruger called all to witness that though their independence had once been removed, God had restored it.

Then both sides began to prepare for war in real earnest.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE LAST STRAW.

In July and August, of this year, the swords of the Boers and Britishers were still sheathed, but the dogs of war were howling fiercely in their kennels and tugging at the diplomatic chains which alone prevented them from flying at each other's throats. Near their respective kennels stood Oom Paul and "Pushful Joe" Chamberlain, glaring at each other, figuratively speaking, across the thousands of miles of space.

Mr. Chamberlain, having harped for years on the franchise question in the Transvaal, President Kruger, in order to avoid a deadly struggle, if possible, resolved to make another move in the direction of franchise reform, while the fieldcornets (equal in rank to a captain in other armies) were busily at work distributing Mauser rifles to the burghers and teaching them how to handle those weapons in place of the Martini rifles, which the Boers had previously used with so much success against the British.

The First and Second Volksraads met in secret session at Pretoria, July 17, and discussed the advisability of passing a law entitling Outlanders to burghership after seven years' residence in the Transvaal, as a prospective solution of the difficulties.

At the same time Herr Fischer, a special representative of the Orange Free State, went to Pretoria for the purpose of offering suggestions upon the part of the Government for the preservation of peace. Later, Herr Hofmeyer, the leader of the Afrikander Bund, or native South African party, joined the conference.

The Transvaal Parliament decided, after deliberation, to grant a seven years' franchise law. And, July 16, the Volksraad formally adopted the seven years' franchise proposition.

The trend of the franchise debate in the Volksraad favored seven years' retrospective and prospective franchises.

Replying to a question, President Kruger reviewed the Bloemfontein conference, and said that the proposals of Sir Alfred Milner were too wide, but that alteration from nine to seven years was only a slight difference; and for reasons of honesty and righteousness he

(President Kruger) recommended the alteration, which would meet the British objections. The country, he added, would not be endangered thereby, but would gain the applause of the world.

But Mr. Chamberlain, when the action of the Volksraad became known, said, in the House of Commons, that the mere granting of a seven years' franchise law would not settle the franchise crisis. It was evident that a struggle would take place on the question of guarantees and that one of the guarantees would be an understanding not to initiate legislation altering the franchises and representation laws without previous notice to the "paramount power."

Mr. Chamberlain then proposed the appointment of a joint commission of enquiry to examine into the effects which the franchise proposals of the Transvaal would have upon the Outlander population which was "taken into consideration" at Pretoria.

The Volksraad, August 8, in the midst of a scene of the wildest enthusiasm and acclamation, passed an amendment to the Constitution empowering the Government of the Republic in the event of war to call out every inhabitant, without distinction, to assist in the defense of the State. From that time on, the Boers began to arm in real earnest and prepared to take the field. Immense stores of small arms, guns, ammunition and other war supplies had, in the meantime, quietly been purchased in Europe and eventually the Transvaal was almost as ready for war as any of the European powers, if not more so.

The Government of the Transvaal, after considering Mr. Chamberlain's proposition for the appointment of a commission of enquiry sent a reply, carefully worded, which meant nothing less than a diplomatic refusal to allow Great Britain to interfere in the internal affairs of the Transvaal, though, to avoid war, it was added, the Transvaal might make further franchise concessions if Great Britain allowed the question of suzerainty to drop, tacitly, and if Great Britain would agree to arbitration of the disputes between the two countries. These were not the phrases used. But it was what the Transvaal intended to convey to the minds of the British statesmen.

The British Foreign Office, August 25, issued a new Transvaal Blue Book, containing further correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the High Commissioner for South Africa.

The principal dispatches dealt with the Transvaal dispatch suggest-

ing arbitration, which was refused by Great Britain, and Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion for a joint inquiry.

Sir Alfred Milner transmitted the Transvaal proposal on June 14, and recommended its immediate rejection, as, he said, it would raise more questions than it would solve. In defending his recommendation the High Commissioner insisted that a redress of the grievances of the Outlanders stood at the head of the programme, and that nothing else could be considered until that point was settled.

Mr. Chamberlain, in replying, endorsed Sir Alfred Milner's views and reviewed the situation resulting in the treatment to which the Outlanders are now subjected. His reply concluded with the proposal of a joint commission of enquiry, already referred to.

The British Diplomatic Agent at Pretoria, August 30, handed to the Secretary of State, the reply of the British Government to the Transvaal's "alternative proposals" to the joint commission suggested by Great Britain. The Agent afterwards had a long audience of the State officials.

The entire correspondence between the Imperial and Transvaal Governments was read in an open session of the Volksraad, August 31, and President Kruger asked the Raad to meet secretly the same night to consider a reply.

The President again claimed that in the Convention of 1881 the suzerainty of Great Britain was distinctly stated. But, he added, there was no mention of it in the Convention of 1884.

A member of the Executive Council explained that when the Transvaal's reply to the joint commission proposal was ready the state attorney interviewed the British Agent, in consequence of which it was held by the Boers that Mr. Chamberlain's dispatch was no reply to theirs.

The last Transvaal note to Great Britain offered five years' franchise and other concessions and was strongly worded. It explained that the concessions were made with a sincere desire to settle all differences fully, to put an end to strained relations and to avert a disastrous war. A prompt answer was requested.

The note of the Diplomatic Agent in-reply was conciliatory and was tantamount to an acceptance of the five years' offer. It agreed to waive the suggested commission of enquiry, provided a representative, to be appointed by Sir Alfred Milner, should have facilities given to him in Pretoria to make an investigation of the franchise question, and

provided the report of such representative should prove satisfactory. Otherwise the Transvaal Government was requested to await further suggestions from the Imperial Government before submitting new proposals to the Volksraad.

The Agent's notes, in conclusion, suggested a conference at Cape Town.

Orders were issued September 1 to the Boer commanders and field-cornets to hold themselves in readiness in the event of an outbreak of hostilities.

Mr. Chamberlain, September 1, issued the text of the Transvaal dispatches of August 19 and 21 and of the reply of the Imperial Government on August 28. The publication was accompanied by a note emphasizing the advisability of making the correct version known, "owing to the fact that an incorrect version had been published in Pretoria."

The Transvaal dispatch of August 19, it was thus shown, contained the proposals regarding the franchise, which were based upon the assumption that Great Britain would agree that "the present intervention does not constitute a precedent" and would allow the suzerainty question to drop. The dispatch of August 21 made the proposed concessions expressly conditional upon Great Britain's understanding not to interfere in the future affairs of the Transvaal; not to insist upon a further assertion of the existence of suzerainty and to agree to arbitration, as we have already outlined.

The reply of the British Government, dated August 28, declared that Great Britain considered that the proposal put forward as alternative to those of July 31 assumed the adoption in principle of a franchise which would not be hampered by conditions impairing its usefulness, and which would secure immediate representation.

Regarding intervention, the British notes said that the Government could not debar itself from rights under the Convention, nor divest itself of the obligations of a civilized power to protect its subjects abroad from injustice.

The British notes concluded with reminding the Transvaal that other matters existed which the grant of a political franchise would not settle, and which were not proper subjects for arbitration. These, this note declared, it would be necessary to settle concurrently with the questions already under discussion, and they would form, with the

question of arbitration, proper subjects for the proposed conference at Cape Town.

While these notes were being exchanged the Boer and British forces were being moved towards the frontiers.

At Pretoria, September 7, great excitement was caused by an interpellation of the Government in the First Volksraad regarding the presence of British troops on the border and the stoppage of ammunition at Delagoa Bay, consigned to the Transvaal. President Kruger, and most of the principal officials were present. The State Secretary said he had called the previous day on the British Agent and asked him what reply the Government could give in the Volksraad regarding the alleged massing of British troops on the borders, and whether Mr. Greene would communicate on the subject with the British High Commissioner. The reply from the Agent, he continued, had been received that morning and was in the following terms:

"Dear Mr. Reitz: .

"The following is Sir Alfred Milner's reply to the telegram, which I sent him at your request:

"I do not know to what Mr. Reitz refers when he alludes to the massing of the troops. This must be the British troops in South Africa, the position and numbers of which are no secret; but it is a matter of common knowledge that they are here in order to protect British interests and to make provision against eventualities.' "

This gave rise to violent speeches in the Raad, after President Kruger arose and said:

"The aliens have been offered equal rights with burghers, but have refused them. Mr. Chamberlain is striving to get the franchise which the Outlanders do not want; but, what he really desires is possession of the Transvaal. The burghers are willing to concede much for the sake of peace, but will never sacrifice their independence."

All the Transvaal artillery was then called out and the burghers received notice to be ready for war.

The next day 800 Boers who had left Pretoria for Standerton pushed on to Volkslust, close to the Natal border, where they camped, awaiting results.

The last British note, which was read in both Raads, September 12, was regarded at Pretoria as an ultimatum. It proposed a five years' franchise, a quarter representation for the goldfields in the Volksraad,

equality for the British and Dutch in the Volksraad, and equality for the old and new burghers in regard to Presidential and other elections. If these conditions were accepted a conference between representatives of the two governments was to follow, at Cape Town, "for the purpose of drafting the necessary measures and of avoiding the introduction of unnecessary conditions by the Transvaal Government or the possibility of the passage of any new bills calculated to defeat the reforms."

"In view of the fact," the note then said, "that the present state of affairs in South Africa cannot be prolonged, the definite acceptance of this proposal is demanded without delay; otherwise Her Majesty's Government will immediately take the whole situation under consideration, and will act so to bring about a settlement."

The reply of the Transvaal, published September 18, after acknowledging the receipt of the British note, said, in part:

"The Government deeply regrets the withdrawal, as the Government understands it, of the invitation contained in the British dispatch of August 23 and the substitution in place thereof of an entirely new proposal.

"The proposals, now fallen through, contained in the Transvaal dispatches of August 19 and August 21, were elicited from the Government by suggestions made by the British Diplomatic Agent in Pretoria (Mr. Conyngham Greene) to the Transvaal State Secretary (Mr. F. W. Reitz), suggestions which this Government acted upon in good faith and after specially ascertaining whether they would be likely to prove acceptable to the British Government. This Government had by no means an intention to raise again needlessly the question of its political status, but acted with the sole object of endeavoring by the aid of the local British Agent to put an end to the strained condition of affairs.

"This was done in the shape of a proposal which this Government deems, both as regards its spirit and form, to be so worded as relying upon intimations to this Government would satisfy Her Majesty's Government. This Government saw a difficulty as to the acceptance of those proposals by the people and legislature of the Transvaal and also contemplated possible dangers connected therewith, but risked making them on account of a sincere desire to secure peace, and because assured by Mr. Chamberlain that such proposals would not be deemed a refusal of his proposals, but would be settled on their merits.

"As regards the joint commission, the Transvaal adheres to the acceptance of the invitation thereunto given by Her Majesty's Government, and cannot understand why such commission, which before was deemed necessary to explain the complicated details of the seven years' law, should now be deemed unnecessary, and why it should now, without such inquiry, be thought possible to declare this law inadequate.

"Further, there must be a misapprehension if it be assumed that this Government was prepared to lay proposals for a five years' franchise and a quarter representation of the new population before the Volksraad for unconditional acceptance. As to the language this Government made no offer, such as referred to, considering as it did, such a measure both unnecessary and undesirable.

"The proposed conference, as distinct from the joint commission of inquiry, this Government is likewise not unwilling to enter upon, but the difficulty is that an acceptance thereof is made dependent upon the acceptance on the side of the Transvaal of precedent conditions which the Government does not feel at liberty to submit to the Volksraad and, moreover, the subjects to be discussed at the conference remain undefined.

"This Government ardently desires and gladly accepts arbitration, as its firm intention is to adhere to the terms of the London Convention of 1884."

The reply concluded by trusting that the British Government on reconsideration may not deem it fit to make more onerous or new proposals, but would "adhere to Great Britain's proposal for a joint commission of inquiry, as previously explained by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Imperial Parliament."

That was really the last of the diplomatic shots, though there was some more diplomatic fencing. The rattle of rifles and the roar of big guns soon followed.

CHAPTER XXXV.

BRITISH STATESMEN ON THE SITUATION.

Having brought the Transvaal situation up to the verge of war, it is necessary to give the views of the leading British statesmen on the crisis.

Mr. John Morley, a Liberal leader, formerly Chief Secretary for Ireland, in a speech at Arbroath, Scotland, September 5, said:

"It is said we have a suzerainty over the South African Republic. Sir Alfred Milner said there is nothing in this controversy as to whether we have a suzerainty or not—nothing material: It is an etymological point, not a political point. My own view of suzerainty is that it is a word which nobody, of course, can define, but it has got a flavor of sovereignty in it, and yet it is not sovereignty; and that the Boers hate the word, because it has got that flavor in it, and the War Party in the Cape and in other places like the word, because they hope to impart into it something or another which may enable them, under a mask of sovereignty, to do things which, I think, they had better not do. Though it is only a matter of a word, many of you must know that some of the bloodiest and most obstinate struggles in the history of mankind have been struggles about words. Blood has been shed, tracts of the surface of the globe have been laid waste, fierce and unquenchable hates between races and race have been kindled by quarrels about words, even about diphthongs. Therefore, do not let us believe that, because, as the High Commissioner says, it is a mere matter of a word, that it is not a very dangerous point. Will you listen—extracts are very disagreeable at a large meeting of this kind—to the words of the Lord Chief Justice of England, when he was trying the raiders in the summer of 1896? Now, this is what he said: These raiders—recollect what they were tried for—were tried for making a war from within the Queen's dominions upon the dominions of a friendly state. Now what did the Lord Chief Justice say? 'The position of the South African Republic is determined by the two conventions of 1881 and 1884. The result is that under these conventions the Queen's Government recognizes the complete independence and autonomy of the South African Republic, subject only to the restric-

- tions of the Convention of 1884, to the effect that the South African Republic should have no power to come into any treaties without this country's consent.' As regards one or two minor states, as to the Orange Free State, that is the definition of the highest authority you can have of the status of the South African Republic. What can the Colonial Secretary mean by talking of the relation between a paramount and a subordinate state? Let us get out of international law. What language can be more needless, irritating, and provocative, or more inconsistent with the language used by all his predecessors, and by nobody more clearly and emphatically than by himself, than the language he is now beginning to use?

“What did Mr. Chamberlain say in 1896? ‘As regards the internal affairs of the republic, I may observe that, independently of the rights of intervention, or particularly matters arising out of the Convention of 1884, Great Britain is justified in the interests of South Africa as a whole’—quite true—‘as well as the peace and stability of the South African Republic.’ Justified in what? ‘In tendering this friendly counsel as regards the newcomers, who are mostly British subjects.’ Friendly counsel. Sending 50,000 troops? There is something more there than friendly counsel. I submit to you that language of this kind expressly excludes all claim as a paramount power to insist by force upon any reforms which are not fairly reserved by the convention. The only claim is the right of friendly counsel in the state of the South African Republic, and not the sovereign right of a paramount power. * * * I dread catch-words. Let us deal with the catch-word. What do you mean by paramountcy? Do you mean that Great Britain is free to dictate to the South African Republic—I do not say to argue about negotiations—what her franchise shall be, to insist on having our own way about her judiciary, about her municipal government, and all the rest of the attributes of a stable community? Is that what you mean? If you do mean that it leads to a very remarkable conclusion, and it is this—that Great Britain is not paramount in a single one of her self-governing colonies, because in not one of these great self-governing colonies, in Australia, in South Africa, would any British statesman dream of going and saying, ‘I represent the paramount power, and I tell you that your franchise shall be so and so, and your jury law and your press law.’ You would have the Empire shattered in a month.

The British and the Dutch have got to live together in South Africa. Fuse them. Do not say to one race, 'You are to be at the top, and the other shall be at the bottom.' No. Let there be fusion, not paramountcy. Are you going to fight them for paramountcy, when you know, apart from its guilt, it can only lead to new burdens and new responsibilities and new difficulties? A war of that kind will not be a war with honor; it will be a war with deep dishonor; and what a mockery will such a war make of all the professions that have been made emphatically, and in capital letters, within the last few months especially, upon behalf of peace! What a farce—what a hypocritical farce—to send your important representatives to The Hague to try whether something cannot be done to introduce better principles into the relations between states! What a farce, what an example for this country, which has hitherto vaunted and boasted—and justly boasted—that it is in the front of great moral, pacific, and progressive causes! What an example for us to set to the armed camps and the scheming Chancelleries of Continental Europe! What a shadow cast upon the reign of the Queen! Yes, empire they say—empire. Yes, but we do not want a pirate empire. Let us be sure, to borrow Mr. Chamberlain's figure, that when the sand runs low in the little hour-glass, which is the measure of the life of a man, we, at all events, shall be able to think that we have been in this constituency stanch and true to those principles of good faith and national honor and solidity and sober judgment which have won for Britain her true glory and her most abiding renown, and in this wanton mischief, and in this grievous discredit which some are now trying to inflict upon her name and forces, neither part nor lot shall be yours or mine."

The former Liberal leader in the House of Commons, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, in a speech made in Wales, September 20, said:

"I shared with Mr. Chamberlain in Mr. Gladstone's great government of 1880 the responsibility of framing the constitution of the Transvaal state. For that constitution he and I and all of that Cabinet are equally responsible. We are responsible for the precise definition of its rights and its obligations, and it is my duty to set forth before you the facts as they are present to my mind. I am one of those who were publicly responsible for the settlement that was made between the British Nation and the Government of the Transvaal, and it is in that capacity that I claim to speak.

"Gentlemen, if there was anything which should induce President Kruger to give a favorable ear to the appeals for reform it would be the experience through which he and his people went themselves when they became exiles from the land of their birth. One of the leaders of that movement, whose name was well known and venerated among the Dutch people of the Transvaal, said, in a proclamation, when they left the land under British dominion, 'We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in the future. We solemnly declare that we leave this country with a desire to enjoy a quieter life than we have hitherto led. We shall not molest any people nor deprive them of the smallest property; but, if attacked, we shall consider ourselves fully justified in defending our persons and effects to the utmost of our ability against every enemy. We are leaving this fruitful land of our birth, on which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are about to enter a strange and dangerous territory; but we go with a firm reliance upon an all-seeing, just and merciful God, whom we shall always fear and humbly endeavor to obey. In the name of all who leave this colony with me.' That was signed 'P. M. Reitz.' That is a document which you cannot read without solemn thoughts before you enter upon a terrible conflict.

"Now, I must ask you to bear with me patiently while I endeavor to explain to you what was the limit of the independence which was then granted, regranted, I should say, to the Transvaal state. Now, it was considered then, and it is considered now, that the Transvaal state ought not to enter into foreign relations by treaty with other countries without the consent of the British Government. In my opinion that was a proper and just principle. That convention, as it was called, of 1881, reserved to Great Britain the right of veto upon treaties with foreign states. Secondly, in regard to its internal administration, it limited, in a certain degree, the internal government and autonomy of the Transvaal state, but, as Lord Derby, who was then Colonial Secretary, stated, 'In all other respects entire freedom of action was accorded not inconsistent with the rights expressly reserved,' so that in the Convention of 1881—follow me here—it was in that first Convention of 1881 the independence so limited was expressed by the word *suzerainty*, a vague word, but one which was employed in that Conven-

tion of 1881. Then, as for the new convention. You have a convention in which the word 'suzerainty' has disappeared. You have a reservation of the control of this country over the treaty relations of the Transvaal, and what was the result of that new convention? The result of that new convention was stated by Lord Derby; and now this is a very important statement. He said: 'By the omission of those articles in the Convention of 1881 which assigned to Her Majesty and the British Government certain specific powers and functions connected with the internal government and the foreign relations, your Government will be left free to govern the country without interference, to conduct its diplomatic intercourse and shape its foreign policy, subject only to the requirements embodied in the fourth article of the new draft that any treaty with a foreign state shall not have effect without the approval of the Queen.' Therefore, I think you may take it with absolute certainty that the new Convention of 1884 was under the veto of the British Government, and in respect to their internal affairs struck out the word 'suzerainty,' leaving or giving to the people of the Transvaal absolute internal authority—home rule, in fact, for themselves. I should say that Lord Derby had also in that speech said: 'We have kept the substance'—and he explained what the substance was—'a controlling power which gives us the right of veto over a treaty with foreign powers.' That was the substance. He did not say they had kept the control of the internal affairs which was given to the Government of the Transvaal. Lord Cairns and Lord Salisbury had argued with great force that where you did not keep control over the internal affairs the word suzerainty was not appropriate, because that meant a general authority over all affairs; and that is the ambiguity under which we are now suffering. The word suzerainty was obliterated, and the matter, as I say, remained upon that footing.

"In the course of that discussion on the question of suzerainty, in the dispatch of May 9, the Government of the Transvaal set up a claim that their right of Government arose not from the Convention of 1884, but from the inherent right of the republic as a sovereign international state. I wish to deal fairly in this controversy, and, as I have criticised and rejected the theory that the suzerainty was retained in the Convention of 1884, so I may think this was a claim put forward on the part of President Kruger and the Transvaal state which could not be maintained and for the same reason you cannot say suzerainty when you have

only a partial suzerainty; so you cannot claim the position of a sovereign international state when you have surrendered the control of your foreign affairs. The position is this—that both sides have made an allegation which cannot be maintained. This was a claim by the Transvaal, which, in my opinion, is quite indefensible, and I think the British Government has been perfectly right in repudiating the claim. As made in that form it is not a sovereign international state. In that sense it is also not true to say the British Government have a suzerainty, when they have only got a partial control. This is the real crux at the present moment. Neither of these positions can be maintained, and if you could only get rid of them we should have peace to-morrow.

“Both parties are pledged to the observance of the Convention of 1884, and when you have got a precise document which defines the real relation of the parties, what is the use of going into these vague terms of suzerainty and international control? When we have got this document, in heaven’s name let us stick to it. Of course, it does not exclude the right of a state to protect its own subjects from ill-treatment. We possess that right all over the world. It has never been denied; in fact, it has been explicitly admitted by the Government of the Transvaal.

“Now, in my opinion, upon this quarrel, upon an ambiguous suzerainty, you are not to go to the issue of arms. Is it not possible that we can revert to the position of a few weeks ago, when this reasonable offer was made accompanied by reasonable conditions? We do not want to alter the offer, because every one admits that it is good, but if there is an ambiguity in the definition of the conditions, for God’s sake let us go and clear it up and not go to war about it. In my opinion, what ought to be done is to accept the franchise as offered for examination. I think it is fair that there should be an examination of the details, and that the Government should give the assurance to the Transvaal which the Transvaal has asked for. That is, the assurance that under the name of suzerainty it will not claim to interfere in every particular whenever it chooses in the internal affairs of the Transvaal.”

The Marquis of Salisbury, Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in a speech October 26 said:

“The theory appears to be that President Kruger is an amiable, but very sensitive, old man—sensitive to every word that may excite sus-

picion or may suggest any future political constitution for his country other than that which he desires, and, so far as these feelings are concerned, he sustains them and expresses them with a fervor and a restlessness more becoming a hysterical young lady than the President of a republic. I am always surprised by this view of President Kruger's character.

"My impression is, or was, certainly that he was a sort of man who would say that hard words break no bones, and, if he got the kind of policy he wanted, he would not be much troubled by the English phraseology in which it was wrapped up. But I take an entirely different view, and, I hope, not an uncharitable one. My belief is that the desire to get rid of that word 'suzerainty' and the reality which it expresses, has been the dream of Mr. Kruger's life. Long before the Treaty of 1881 was negotiated it was his main desire. It was for that he set up the negotiations of 1884, and in order to get that hateful word out of his convention he made considerable territorial and other sacrifices.

"Situated as Great Britain is in South Africa toward the Transvaal and the Outlander population, who are our subjects in the Transvaal, we have a paramount power and duty which has nothing whatever to do with any conventional suzerainty. I do not think that is the opinion of Mr. Kruger. He would do anything in order to get rid of it, and, though it may be perfectly true—I maintained that opinion at the time—that the word in itself has no distinct or sufficient meaning, it is still true that, having been put into the treaty, it has obtained an artificial value and meaning which prevents us from entirely abandoning it. We cannot drop it and restore things to the condition in which they were before the word suzerainty was adopted. If we were to drop it we should be intimating that the ideas which have come to be associated with it are ideas which we repudiate and abandon altogether. Of course that is a position we cannot adopt. I believe it is largely due to Mr. Kruger—I do not say it to blame it—it is largely due to his peculiar character, and to the idea which he has pursued, that the moment has arrived for deciding whether the future of South Africa is to be a growing and increasing Dutch supremacy, or a safe, perfectly established supremacy of the English people.

"To the state of things established by the Convention of 1881 or 1884, whatever it may have been, we can never return. We can never



TROOPS RETURNING TO LADYSMITH CAMP AFTER THE BATTLE.



PICKING UP DEAD AND WOUNDED AROUND THE GUNS.



THE DEVONS FIRING ON BOERS RETREATING FROM PEPWORTH HILL.



THE TIMELY ARRIVAL OF THE BLUE-JACKETS.

consent, while we have the strength to resist it, to be put into the same position which we have held in South Africa for the last seventeen or eighteen years. With regard to the future, there must be no doubt that the sovereign power of England is paramount; there must be no doubt that the white races will be put upon an equality, and that due precaution will be taken for the philanthropic and kindly and improving treatment of those countless indigenous races of whose destiny, I fear, we have been too forgetful. Those things must be insisted upon in the future. By what means they will be obtained I do not know; I hope they may be consistent with a very large autonomy on the part of that race which values its individual share in the Government so much as the Dutch people do. But with that question we have no concern at present. We have only to make it clear that the great objects which are essential to the power of England in Africa, to the good government of that country, and to the rights of all races are the objects which the British Government, with the full support of the Nation without distinction of party, is now pursuing, and which they will thoroughly pursue and preserve to the end."

Mr. H. H. Asquith, Liberal, the former Home Secretary, speaking at Dundee, October 11, said:

"A state of war exists between Great Britain and a country inhabited by men of the same blood, the same color, the same religion as ours. I suppose that that is a state of things which has not occurred within the memory of a considerable number, if not, indeed, a large majority, of those I am addressing. I am one of those who hoped against hope, who expected almost against expectation, that this catastrophe would be averted. There was nothing, I should have said as lately even as yesterday, there was nothing in the character of the difference which had arisen between ourselves on the one side and the Government of the Transvaal on the other which could not, and ought not (given upon both sides what we were entitled to assume, good sense and good faith), which ought not to have received pacific and honorable solution. However strongly I may have felt, as you have felt, that steps have been taken which had better have been omitted, and that steps have been omitted which had better have been taken, I have from the first credited Her Majesty's Government, as I credit them now, with a sincere and honest desire to avoid war; and as regards the other party to this deplorable controversy—the Government of the South African Repub-

lic—it seemed almost incredible that they should have deliberately forfeited something, at any rate, of the claim which they might otherwise have presented to the sympathy which the world is always ready to give to the weak in a conflict with the strong, that they should have forfeited that by striking the first blow in a conflict which for them can have but one issue. But these hopes and calculations of a perhaps over-sanguine optimism have been put to an end by this morning's news. We find ourselves face to face with a new situation, a situation in which, for the moment, I think the fewer words the better, provided always that those words are free from ambiguity or reserve. In what I say it must be understood that I speak only for myself; I have had no opportunity since the new phase of the situation has developed of consulting the colleagues with whom I am in the habit of acting; but, finding myself here face to face with this large representative gathering, I should not be doing my duty if I did not state my views with clearness and frankness.

“The Transvaal Government, in a dispatch published this morning, rest their case upon what they allege to be an unwarrantable and unlawful intervention on the part of Great Britain in their internal concerns; they take their stand upon the Convention of 1884, which they contend to be a complete and exhaustive embodiment of our rights and of their obligations. They assert that in the recent attempts of Her Majesty's Government to procure by an extension of the franchise, or other means, redress for the grievances of the Outlanders, although, as a matter of grace and courtesy, the statesmen of the Transvaal may have agreed to discuss the matter with us, we were in fact tampering without legal or moral title with their internal autonomy. If these contentions can be sustained, then, no doubt we are out of court. But are these contentions sustained? In my judgment they are vitiated by the underlying and fallacious assumption that our right, or, as I prefer to put it, our duty, to intervene is derived from the convention alone.

“Some of you may have followed the discussion in the press as to the effect of the Convention of 1884 on that of 1881, and especially as to whether the suzerainty reserved by the former convention has or has not disappeared. I confess that to my mind the controversy is of a most scholastic character, for it cannot be too clearly understood that the word suzerainty is not a term of art. In other words, the reservation of suzerainty rights imposes no definite obligations. To ascertain its

import in such a convention as that of 1881 you must look at the subsequent articles of the convention, which enumerate and define the relative rights and obligations of the two parties. Those articles are admittedly gone, and for them, by express agreement, have been substituted the articles of the Convention of 1884. And you will see, as some learned persons contend, that the preamble or opening provision of the Convention of 1884, which reserves the suzerainty, is still in force. Suzerainty so reserved means since 1884 nothing more than there is contained in the articles of the latter convention. I have never seen any reason why our Government should not have made the Boers a present of the admission—if they thought it of any value—that our rights so far as they are embodied in the terms of the convention depend upon that of 1884, and not that of 1881. I do not stop to inquire which, if any, of the wrongs suffered by the Outlanders are violations of the Convention of 1884. Some of them at any rate cannot be so described, but all this—now we come to the very root of the matter—all this is entirely beside the point. If quite apart from and independently of any convention we have, as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman asserted the other day, if we have the right of intervention in the circumstances which have arisen, based not upon parchment treaties or arrangements—based upon general principles of international law and equity, and upon our special responsibilities as the paramount Power, which in the last resort has to preserve peace and order throughout South Africa—I agree it was certainly not contemplated when the Transvaal was retroceded in 1881 that under normal conditions the paramount Power would have the duty or occasion of interfering in its internal concerns. Opinions differ. For my part I have always thought (whatever may be said by way of criticism of the method or moment chosen), the retrocession of the qualified independence of the South African Republic made by Mr. Gladstone in 1881, was, in the then circumstances which at that time could have been reasonably contemplated as likely to arise, a magnanimous and politic act.

“But it is important to remember that even then, with what in those days was called the loyalist minority in the Transvaal, the few English inhabitants who at the time were making a livelihood there—it should be remembered that when the question of the loyalist minority was raised, the negotiators who represented Mr. Gladstone and the British Government were instructed to obtain, and did obtain, conclusive assur-

ance that the British minority would have equal rights and privileges with the burgher citizens. That promise was deliberately made, and we acted upon it. It has never been carried out. I think it is impossible for fair-minded men not to feel a certain amount of sympathy with the reluctance of the Boers to be submerged by a stream of Outlanders, which flowed in ever-increasing numbers into the country after the discovery of gold. No one could blame them if they had been cautious and even over-conservative in the matter, but their actual handling of the matter has been such as, by the admission of all parties, no civilized country could permit in the case of its own subjects even at the hands of a distant and sovereign Power. The raid of 1895, that ill-starred adventure, as childish as it was criminal, for a time paralyzed our hands, and it was followed at Pretoria—perhaps not unnaturally followed—by legislation more reactionary and more oppressive, with military expenditure more profuse. There is no political or moral disease which is so contagious as bad blood. Bad blood, I won't say raised by the raid, because the raid was only the symptom and outcome of deep-seated causes already in operation, but bad blood, of which the raid was at any rate the symptom, year by year had been growing in intensity and virulence between the two sections of the Transvaal population.

“Then comes in what you can never leave out of view, the essential solidarity of the whole South African community. If the British and Dutch in the Transvaal are on bad terms with one another, if the British in South Africa are denied, and denied insolently and arrogantly, the ordinary and elementary rights of civil and political freedom of the Transvaal, it is a complete contrast in this respect, not only to our colonies, but also to the Orange Free State. You cannot isolate the causes of resentment, hatred, and estrangement which are developing themselves there. They spread insensibly, gradually, inevitably, till they poison the whole life of our great South African community. Five years ago it is no exaggeration to say that Britons and Dutchmen everywhere but in the Transvaal were sitting down side by side in peace and amity, carrying on the same labors and in healthy rivalry, becoming every year more fused into one community of loyal subjects to the British Empire. But it is impossible to ignore that the state of things which has existed in the Transvaal and been allowed to go year by year from bad to worse, has undermined their foundations and that unanimity of feeling, that loyalty of sentiment, that harmony of co-oper-

ation upon which our Imperial position in South Africa depends. I think everyone felt—everyone who had studied the problem at first hand—that the time had come to find a friendly and honorable escape from an impossible situation. I say nothing to-night as to the course of the negotiations, as to the wisdom or unwisdom of putting forward this or dropping that proposal. These matters are no longer an issue.

“The issue raised by the ill-inspired dispatch of the Transvaal Government, the issue which they tell us is to be pushed at once to the arbitrament of war, is simply this—has Great Britain the paramount power of South Africa, has Great Britain the right to secure for subjects in the Transvaal the same equality of treatment as is voluntarily granted to Dutch and English alike in every other part of South Africa?

“The thinking people of the country see in this war little or no prospect either of material advantage or military glory; they fear, with too much reason, that, like the sowing of the dragon’s teeth, it may yield a bitter harvest of resentment and distrust. It is not with a light heart that they take up the challenge that has been thrown down; but now that it has been forced upon them they will see it through to the end.”

Skirmishes between the mounted British and Boer patrols occurred October 17 at Acton Homes and at Bester’s Station, near Ladysmith. The British and Boers were then almost in touch near Glencoe and the Orange Free State troops were advancing in two columns from Tintwa and Van Reenan’s Pass against Ladysmith.

Vryburgh, the capital of British Bechuanaland, surrendered to the Orange Free State forces October 15, but the news was not made public until October 20. It was garrisoned by a small force of police, who withdrew and allowed the Boers to enter the place.

The town of Vryburgh, almost directly south of Mafeking, is about 124 miles north of Kimberley, with which it has been connected by railroad since 1891. It was founded in 1882 by Boers from the Transvaal, and for some time consisted mainly of a station of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in its work among the Bechuana tribe, which early in the century was driven from its old territory by the Kaffirs.

Vryburgh is partly surrounded by hills. Its approaches were protected by four small forts. It is but a few miles distant from the western boundary of the Transvaal, and slightly northwest of the Orange Free State.

In the House of Commons, October 10, the policy of Mr. Cham-

berlain was severely criticised and he defended himself with vigor. He began with a severe criticism of the action of the Opposition at the previous meeting of Parliament saying their statements were calculated to encourage President Kruger's resistance and to embarrass the Government in "most difficult and most critical functions."

Touching upon a demand for the production of his (Mr. Chamberlain's) letter to Mr. Hawkesley (counsel for the British South Africa Company), Mr. Chamberlain said he would gladly produce it if Sir William Vernon Harcourt and John Morley, who were members of the South African Committee, demanded it. Criticism on this subject he characterized as "neither honest nor honorable."

The Speaker here intervened, saying that the language of the Colonial Secretary was "beyond Parliamentary bounds."

"The Government," Mr. Chamberlain continued, "welcomed all honest and honorable criticism of their policy and I wish I could apply these epithets to the speech of the member for Burnley."

Regarding the allegations respecting his own association with Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Chamberlain declared that from the time of the Jameson raid he had had no communication, either direct or indirect, with Mr. Rhodes on any subject connected with South African policy. He had seen that gentleman with reference to the Cape-to-Cairo Railway project and with reference to Rhodesia, but the conversations had never touched upon the subjects now under discussion, and he would remind the House that Mr. Rhodes, although a millionaire, had gone to face danger at Kimberley.

Later on, Mr. Chamberlain said that in the light of recent events and of the utterances of President Kruger, he had come to the conclusion that war had always been inevitable, although it was only of late that he had himself reluctantly reached this view.

Referring to the principles involved in the war, Mr. Chamberlain went on to say:

"If we maintain our existence as a great power in South Africa we are bound to show that we are willing and able to protect British subjects wherever they have suffered injustice and oppression. Great Britain must remain the paramount power in South Africa. I do not mean paramount in the German and Portuguese possessions, but in the two republics and the British colonies. Every one on both sides of the House is determined to maintain these great principles. The peace

of South Africa depends upon Great Britain accepting the responsibility in the Transvaal. The Boer oligarchy has placed British subjects in a position of inferiority; and what would have been the British position if they had submitted to that inferiority?

"There is one subject not dealt with in the Blue Books," he added. "I mean the disgraceful Boer treatment of the natives, unworthy a civilized power. In 1896 I actually sent a message to Sir Hercules Robinson for the Transvaal respecting the treatment of natives. Then came the Jameson raid; and our South African officials decided that they could not with propriety present the message. The Boers, in their own words, trekked, because they wanted to 'wallop the niggers.'"

Discussing the question of supremacy, Mr. Chamberlain said: "The whole object of the Boers has been to oust the Queen from her position as suzerain. Now they have thrown off the mask and declared themselves a sovereign, independent State. Her Majesty's Government has had a suspicion amounting to knowledge that the mission of Dr. Leyds is one continual series of negotiations with foreign powers against the British.

"The Transvaal and the Free State have an ideal which is dangerous to Great Britain; and, by the continuous accretions of arms, the Transvaal had become so far the most powerful military State in Africa. That was a danger, and we have escaped one of the greatest dangers we were ever subjected to in Africa. The whole point of difference between the Opposition and the Government is as to the details of the negotiations."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

PRESIDENT STEYN AND BISHOP GRAUGHRAN SPEAK.

When the Volksraad of the Orange Free State opened September 21 President Steyn made a speech outlining the stand taken by that republic in the crisis which had arisen between Great Britain and the Transvaal. It was a momentous session of the Raad, and the greatest interest was taken in the proceedings. All the members of the Raad were present and very many farmers came in from the country districts to attend the session. The President, who read his speech in a firm voice, said:

"I extend you a hearty welcome. You will be grieved to hear that, notwithstanding the endeavors of myself and the Executive, the relations of the Transvaal and the Imperial Government are very strained. You are aware of the fact that in May last President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner met at Bloemfontein on my invitation with the object of removing the outstanding differences between the two Governments, with the result that propositions were made by President Kruger by which assistance was to be given to the Outlanders. These proposals, although refused by Sir Alfred Milner, were unanimously considered by you to be exceedingly fair. Since then I have desired to follow your spirit in advising the Transvaal to concede as much as possible without damaging its independence. With the assistance of Mr. Fletcher, whose excellent attempts to bring about peace will never be sufficiently appreciated, the Transvaal conceded step after step, until the Imperial Government itself declared the last franchise law, wherein it was enacted that seven years' residence should qualify for naturalization, and the scheme for extending the representation in the Volksraad of the Witwatersrand gold fields, to be the basis for further negotiations. The Imperial Government then desired that the law should be laid before a joint commission, notwithstanding the fact that it was not justifiable for such a commission to interfere in the Transvaal. For the sake of peace and to avoid probable fatal consequences to South Africa, I considered it my duty to advise the Transvaal to assent to such a commission. Before the invitation was answered I was informed by the Transvaal that official negotiations were proceeding between Mr.

Conyngham Greene and Dr. Smuts, during which the Transvaal, with an ardent desire to secure peace now or never, declared its readiness to concede the following:

“(a) To recommend the Volksraad and people to grant a five years’ retrospective franchise as proposed by Sir Alfred Milner at Bloemfontein on June 1; (b) to grant eight new seats in the First Volksraad to the Witwatersrand, with a promise of future representation for the gold fields of not less than a quarter of the whole representation; (c) that the new burghers should be allowed to vote for the President and Commandant-General (the same as the old burghers); (d) to accept the friendly advice of Mr. Conyngham Greene in drafting the law. This offer was made on the positive conditions: (1) That the Imperial Government should promise for the future to leave the internal affairs of the Transvaal strictly alone. (2) That the Imperial Government should not insist further on the assertion of its suzerainty. (3) That the Imperial Government should consent to arbitration. The Transvaal was decoyed into making this offer, as was proved by the letter from Dr. Smuts to Conyngham Greene of the 15th of September, by hints given by Mr. Greene to Dr. Smuts, which were received in good faith and accepted by the Transvaal as equal to a promise that Imperial Government would accept the offer.

“To the surprise of the Transvaal the Imperial Government declared its readiness to accept the commission, but refused to agree to the conditions, notwithstanding the fact that these conditions were made on hints given by Mr. Greene. The Imperial Government was ready to discuss the form and powers of a court of arbitration at Cape Town between President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner, but clearly stated that other matters of difference could not be referred to arbitration. They did not, however, state the nature of the differences. As its conditions were not accepted, the Transvaal considered that its offer had fallen through and announced its willingness to attend a joint commission of inquiry. Although Mr. Chamberlain, through Mr. Greene, had made it known that counter offers would not be considered tantamount to a refusal of the aforesaid invitation, now that the Transvaal had accepted the invitation to attend a conference he wishes the republic to make afresh the offers which have already fallen through without the conditions. He also wished the Outlanders to have the right to speak their own language in the Raad. This was refused by

the Transvaal, but it still declared its willingness to abide by its acceptance of the invitation to attend a joint commission to inquire into the present law and the scheme of representation.

"As all the other concessions of the Transvaal have been received by the other side with fresh demands and more and more warlike preparations, after taking the advice of the Executive, I am not inclined to press the Transvaal to accept the last proposals, because I, with the unanimous agreement of the Executive Council, thought that such a course could not be expected. I thought it my duty, seeing that affairs have assumed such a critical condition, to summon the Volksraad. It cannot be a matter of indifference to us if the Transvaal is thrown into trouble, because we are not only bound to them by everything near and dear, but also because we have a political alliance which for the last ten years has stood with the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the two states. If its independence is assailed we will render the Transvaal all the assistance in our power. It is, therefore, for you to decide what attitude the Orange Free State shall assume. I feel I must again state my opinion that nothing has happened to warrant war or an attack on the Transvaal. A war on points of difference which can easily be settled by a commission or by arbitration would not only be an insult to religion and civilization, but a sin against mankind. I take the opportunity of your presence to lay certain draft laws before you. It is my fervent prayer that Almighty God may, in these days of sorrow and trouble, give you such strength as will lead to the passing of resolutions which will not only secure the peace and prosperity, but also the honor of our beloved state. I have said."

The Volksraad then went into secret session, which lasted several days. Out of its deliberations came the determination to support the Transvaal in case the latter went to war with Great Britain.

The Right Rev. Anthony Graughran, Roman Catholic Bishop at Kimberley, South Africa, in a letter dated previous to the outbreak of hostilities (September 19, 1898), championed the cause of the Outlander population of the Transvaal Republic and viewed the question from the standpoint of one who desired equal rights for all in that country. A residence of thirteen years in South Africa enabled the Bishop to acquire a thorough acquaintance with the conditions existing in that country.

The part of the letter which is of public interest is as follows:

"Personally, I can, with a safe conscience, say that I think that Eng-

land very seldom had a more just cause for war. The state of things in the Transvaal was a scandal to the nations. That a handful of men, some of whom were very illiterate, and all of whom were very prejudiced and selfish, should expect to be allowed to make laws forever for those who spent their money in buying up property in that country and developing its wealth, is preposterous.

"Chamberlain's indictment of the Transvaal Government was perfectly fair. I have no hesitation in saying so, and I have had thirteen years to study this question. I am not an Englishman, as you know, nor are my sympathies in general with England; but in this case I do believe that England will do credit to our common humanity by forcing a small state calling itself a republic to give equal rights to all.

"Whatever one may call England's title to interfere is in this matter; it is certain that in former years most of the Boers, their President at their head, asked England to come to their aid and take over the state. She did so, and then when the debts of the little republic were paid by England, and Paul Kruger received his salary, which was in arrears for a long time, he started a rebellion against the new authority. Gladstone gave them back their country under certain conditions. The fourth clause of the Convention conveyed the idea that all who go into the country shall have equal rights. The Boers and their Volksraad did not keep that promise; they did not give equal rights to all.

"When the rush to the Transvaal began there was a very simple law for the franchise. I am writing from memory, but I think it must have been a residence of two years and paying taxes. A few years afterward this was increased to six years, then to nine years, then to fourteen years, and no one could say how many more years might be added on.

"Those who invested their money in the country had no hope of ever having a voice in the government of the country and yet the Outlanders were twice as numerous at least, as the original usurpers. For in my mind I do not give to the Boers of the Transvaal the title of nationality. They simply killed the Kaffirs fifty years ago, and they took their place. There is nothing in this that implies proscriptions for a nation.

"Now comes the question of Paul Kruger and his advisers. He had a clever man for some years who kept him from committing himself too far; but he has left him, and now the whole government seems to be the

boat without the rudder. Oom Paul is shrewd, but when one considers that the President of the small republic which has only 60,000 inhabitants or thereabouts receives a salary as large as that of the President of the United States, one can imagine that patriotism is not the very first characteristic of his life.

"I cannot enter into the details of concessions which I believe were most iniquitous as regards the interests of the country, the dynamite question, etc. These I do not care to consider.

"I have always held that a man in any country has the same right as another if he conducts himself as he ought and that there should be no distinction beyond that which is necessary to test his sincerity. Let the United States be the model for republics in this matter.

"There must not be at the end of the nineteenth century a government calling itself a republic, while it is in reality a close oligarchy.

"Now, I have given you my views in general on the subject. Were I to go into the history of the country in more detail I could make a very much stronger case against the Boers. I only want to set you on what I consider the right line for judging of the struggle which seems to me is inevitable now.

"The Boer is brave. Of that I have no doubt, but he is ignorant and prejudiced to an alarming extent. On that account I do not condemn him, for his fathers had to strike out into the desert and lived as those who are cut off from civilization. His prejudice shows itself principally as regards the Catholic church; and, second, as regards the civilized habits of European nations. The Catholic church is his bugbear. Catholics are heathens to him. They worship snakes and wooden images.

"I find I might go on forever in this strain, but I have not time to give you my ideas fully, and I must wind up by saying that to my mind a war is the best way to end the unrest and insecurity that torments and paralyzes the country here at present. We shall all suffer from it; probably we shall suffer a great deal, but in the end the country will gain, and gain immensely.

"As far as you are concerned, do not allow the idea to prevail that the Transvaal is a republic, except in name."

Bishop Graughran was born in Marysboro, Ireland, about forty years ago.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ADMIRAL HOWESON, U. S. N., ON THE TRANSVAAL.

In July last, Rear Admiral Howeson, of the United States Navy, with six of his officers, landed from the cruiser *Chicago* at Delagoa Bay and took a trip to Pretoria (where he only stopped for breakfast), Johannesburg, Kimberley and Cape Town. In an interview after his return to New York, the American Admiral said:

"I spent the Fourth of July in Johannesburg, and I could hardly have spent a day in an assemblage where patriotic American sentiment exhibited itself more freely and spontaneously. Twenty American-born residents of Johannesburg, all of them prominent in the business and financial world of the South African Republic, gave a dinner to myself and the six officers from my flagship who accompanied me. More than one hundred guests sat down to the dinner, mostly Americans, but with quite a number of Englishmen and a few Boers. Johannesburg is the Transvaal. It is the leading and progressive city of the country, a town that has sprung up since the goldfields were discovered there fifteen years ago and which now practically supports, as I was made to understand, the Boer Republic.

"I was in the republic scarcely more than a week and, of course, I had no opportunity to observe the political situation enough to express any opinions about it, and what views I have on the troubles and divisions there are based on what I heard while I was at Johannesburg, Cape Town and the other places which I visited. I went to the country rather, if anything, sympathizing with the republic, being from a republic myself. I had read of Oom Paul and thought him a gallant old fellow. I heard a great many things from Englishmen and Americans, or Outlanders, calculated to produce a different opinion.

"The main trouble with the Boer Government, it would seem, is its lack of knowledge of the world. In its former clash with England, which was set down as a victory for the Boers, the Boers seemed to have gained the idea that England was afraid of them. They rate their Government as an equivalent power with England, Germany, Russia or the United States. Now, what the Englishmen and Americans want over there, as I understand it, is not the right to vote, but the enjoy-

but I traveled simply as a private citizen. I merely stopped at Pretoria, the capital, for breakfast. It is a much smaller town than Johannesburg and much more typical of the Boers. I was surprised, in my travels through the country, to find so many small places that evinced signs of progress and civilization. Places where we stopped for meals, and which I observed from the car windows, reminded me very much of the railroad villages and stations which I saw a few years ago on a trip through the West.

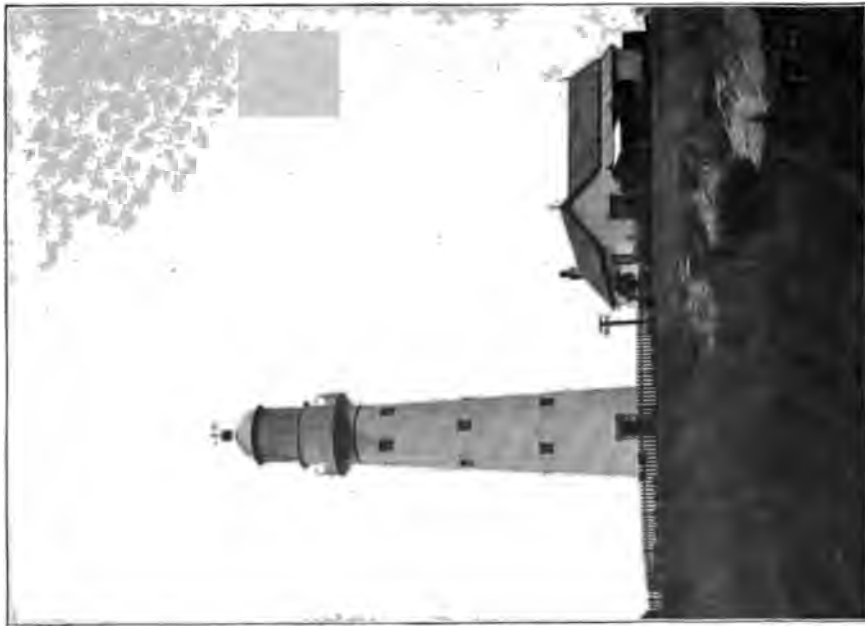
"The length of the war, I should say, depends upon the force which England decides to send there. Of course, numbers are bound to tell, and if England sends a sufficient force she will end the conflict that much sooner. The Boers are brave and stubborn fighters, but of course they have not the trained army that England has. The Boer farmers were drilling when we were there. Some parts of the country are rugged and have difficult passes, which are obstacles in the way of the English. Then there are not many railroads to facilitate the transportation of troops and supplies. Railroad lines connect Pretoria, Johannesburg, Kimberley and Cape Town and the port in Mozambique on Delagoa Bay, where we landed from the Chicago to begin our inland trip."



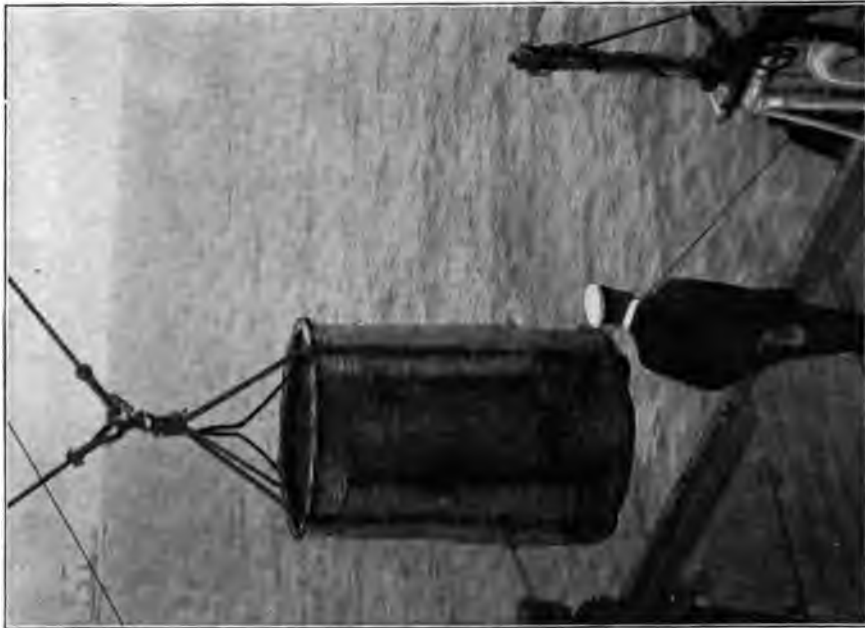
**TRANSVAAL GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS, AND DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH WHERE
PRESIDENT KRUGER PREACHES.**



PARLIAMENT HOUSE IN CAPE TOWN, AND TABLE MOUNTAIN.



LIGHTHOUSE ON THE BLUFF AT PORT NATAL.



BASKET USED TO LAND SOLDIERS AT PORT NATAL.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

AMERICAN INTERESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The latest official account of the interests of the United States in South Africa was compiled, shortly before the outbreak of the war between Great Britain and the Transvaal, by Mr. James G. Stowe, the United States Consul General at Cape Town, who recently made a tour through Cape Colony, Natal, Orange Free State and the Transvaal. His report to the State Department at Washington contained a mass of valuable matter, from which the following has been culled:

Mr. Stowe traveled first from Cape Town to Kimberley, 647 miles. The journey consumed two days and one night, and was made in one of the compartment cars which in South Africa take the place of sleeping and dining cars. At night he had "a bed consisting of one sheep double, one small pillow and two blankets made up," for which he paid ten English shillings, \$2.43. The scenery in the Hex Mountains, which were traversed the first afternoon, reminded him of Colorado.

"In the distance on each side could be seen the 'soppies' (hills), assuming all shapes and heights. These wastes were covered with a stunted bush, the food of the sheep which once roamed about in large numbers, now sadly decimated by disease. At the foot of the coppies are fertile fields, whose principal products are Kaffir corn and mealies. The Kaffir corn is in the tassel, not in the ear; the mealie is like our own Indian corn, but smaller in ear and grain, and when ground and mixed with cold water is more palatable than our Indian corn when scalded. The mealie is planted in rows and left to mature. It is never cultivated; hence the corn runs to stalk and not to ear."

The monotony of this long ride was broken by the occasional small herds of cattle, sheep, goats and ostriches. These last, less timid than their four-footed companions, came up to the fence and stared at the train as it rushed by. The fences, by the way, were of American barbed wire, but built with genuine Dutch solidity, attached to heavy iron posts and gates, imported from Europe. Kimberley, Mr. Stowe found to be a city of 35,000 inhabitants, most of them attracted to the place by the greatest diamond mines in the world. The general manager of the mines, Gardiner F. Williams, is also the United States Consular

Agent. "I was pleased to find," says Mr. Stowe, "that many of the most responsible positions in the mines were filled by Americans. The United States also furnish most of the 2,000 horses and mules used in the mines and some of the 200,000 pounds of beef and 25,000 pounds of mutton, consumed by the 15,000 natives and 25,000 whites employed in the mines. I was not at all surprised to see American machinery here," Mr. Stowe remarks. "The immense driving gear of a pumping engine 'made in England' had to be sent to Chicago to have the cogs cut. The company is operating an ice plant, made in Chicago, and three more have been ordered, each with a capacity of five tons a day, and 20,000 cubic feet of cold storage, besides a complete dynamite plant, with an American to manage it. The 150 miles of railroad in and about the mines are laid with American rails, and every tie and sleeper is of California redwood, which in this country is the wood par excellence for this purpose. Three ships from California have recently arrived with cargoes of redwood and Oregon pine. The ice company sells its product for half a cent a pound, while in Cape Town the price is four cents. All the water used in and about the city flows through pipes made in the United States. I was pulled to Kimberley by an American engine, and there are several others in use in Cape Colony."

The Consul General was interested in the arrangements made by the company for the comfort of its employes. "No company in the world," he declares, "does more. It has built the village of Kenilworth, covering 500 acres and occupied by white employes at nominal cost. Water and light are supplied free, and there is a club house, a library, reading rooms, an athletic grounds, a park and vegetable gardens. The natives are housed in compounds. On the four sides of a large square are erected one-story buildings of corrugated iron, opening to the center of the square. They are divided into rooms which hold twenty persons, who sleep in bunks three high. Within each camp is a store which supplies the natives with clothes, food, etc., at very reasonable prices. In the center of the square is a large swimming pool, well patronized. Adjacent to the compound is a hospital, free to the sick and injured. Extended over the whole enclosure, which occupied several acres, is a wire netting, to prevent the throwing over of diamonds enclosed in tin cans, etc., as was once the natives' practice. Outside the compound and ten feet from it is a barbed wire fence

ten feet high, with fourteen strands of wire. An underground passage leads to the mine shaft, and the men are examined as they return from work. Within the compound I visited (there are three) were 3,500 natives, to the crushing and washing machines and afterwards to the pulsators, which separates it into different sizes and again washes it. Finally it passes over shaking tables, covered with grease, which catches and retains the diamonds. These are then washed in acid and taken to the valuator. Roughly speaking, out of 3,000,000 tons of blue rock three-fourths of a ton of diamonds are obtained. The valuator assort the diamonds according to color and purity. I saw on his table the output of one week, worth \$300,000. A syndicate of buyers takes the product of the mines."

In spite of the fact that Kimberley and its mines are already good customers of the United States, Mr. Stowe thinks "we ought to have still more of the trade, especially in galvanized, corrugated sheet iron, which is extensively used throughout Africa. The immense buildings in the Kimberley and Johannesburg mines are composed of it, as are also thousands of dwelling houses, barns, warehouses, fences, etc. The merchants in all African cities carry it in stock, of regular lengths, packed by European manufacturers in bundles of twelve sheets held together by iron bands."

Leaving Kimberley a ride of 167 miles brought the Consul General to the borders of the Orange Free State, the Transvaal's ally in the present war. Here a different scene was presented to the eye. "The land was more fertile. The houses of the Kaffirs and Hottentots are seen, the former looking like tops of balloons, the latter square and built of stone. The Kaffir huts show the natural skill and inventive genius of the trade. Long branches or trunks of a tree, that grows high and has a small diameter, are planted in the center and fastened. Then the native flat is woven in and out between them, making a habitation, water-tight yet cool." The panorama presented in the ride of 334 miles across the Orange Free State is monotonous but not unpleasing. "More and better farming is noticed; the crops are more diversified. In the fields plows and reapers and mowers of familiar home make gladden the eye of the American traveler. These implements, imported from the United States by dealers at Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban, are sold extensively throughout Africa. Though much of the land is still idle, the Free State is prosperous and the Dutch

farmers, unlike their neighbors and allies across the Vaal, welcome all comers to citizenship on easy terms."

The Consul and his companion were detained by the Transvaal customs officers for five hours at the boundary of the republic before being allowed to set out for Pretoria, seventy-seven miles inward. Pretoria is the seat of government and the residence of President Kruger, but, like most capital cities, it is not, as Mr. Stowe expresses it, a business center. After a short rest in the pretty little hill capital the Consul proceeded to Johannesburg, over the comfortable Netherlands Railway, a handsome property said to be owned in Holland. "I never rode," he says, "over a better roadbed or in more comfortable cars. The latter were equipped with every modern convenience and the dining cars reminded me of home." There seems to have been one drawback. "The cars are all of iron, even the sides, and covering and in warm weather, I am told, they are like ovens." These iron cars have figured in the recent dispatches from the seat of war, made of the price of dynamite, which costs 70 shillings (\$17.03) per case, and could be bought outside the state for 40 shillings (\$9.73). The Government granted a concession to a company, which made thousands of pounds sterling out of it annually. A concession for the manufacture of candles has been granted, so that the miners will have to buy of the home manufacturer, as the duty is prohibitive. The railways, I was told, charge for freight from the border to Johannesburg, a distance of forty-seven miles, as much as it costs to haul from the seaports, 1,000 miles away. While the United States cannot now compete for the candle trade, I am pleased to state that the candle factory will be required to equip with American machinery throughout.

Mr. Stowe then went to Durban, in Natal, the most important port of entry, Cape Town excepted, on the South African coast, and a favorite winter resort for Johannesburgers. The imports at Durban for the first two months of the current year were 27,367 tons, valued at \$530,828. Americans have a large and rapidly growing share of the business, and the reason is apparent from the following incident which Mr. Stowe relates as one of many similar:

"A Durban merchant said to me: 'I recently ordered five tons of hoop iron of an English manufacturer. After the order had gone forward one of your American salesmen came along and made me a price ten dollars a ton less. I gave him an order for five tons, and then tried

to have the English order cancelled, but the English house refused, saying that "no one could take and guarantee a first-class article at the price named, and a test would prove it." When the iron arrived I tested both, and the American was several per cent. better.' "

Mr. Stowe found at the hotel where he stopped at Durban the doors and trimmings, and even the electric lights, were of American origin. "In fact," he said, "I was during my whole trip all the time putting my hand on something American. I was told that our screwdrivers, hammers, hatchets, chisels, etc., were so cheap, though good, that it did not pay to have them ground or repaired—it was better and cheaper to buy new ones."

The Consul also stopped at Port Elizabeth and Mossell Bay. In the latter port he found a British ship discharging a cargo of 1,000 tons of rails from the United States for a new railroad. Here also the Consul found American goods to be in growing favor. In a concluding note Mr. Stowe comments upon the telephone service in various South African cities. "In Kimberley," he says, tersely, "the service is American and good; in Johannesburg it is Dutch and everybody continually finds fault; no service after 5 o'clock, and a year's subscription, about \$75 a month, in advance; in Durban it is German and fair."

Mr. Stowe in a later report to the department, August 25, announces that the imports at Natal from the United States during the preceding ten months had increased by nearly a million dollars, whereas those from Great Britain had increased only \$678,983. A large trade in American fruit and shade trees had also grown up, and there was an active demand for sprayers and preparations to destroy insects.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

DEFENSES OF THE GOLCONDA OF THE DESERT.

Just previous to the outbreak of war, a correspondent at Kimberley wrote the following letter, giving an account of the defenses of that place, saying:

Preparations against a sudden Boer attack on this veritable Golconda of the Desert have been actively going on during the past week, it being evidently feared by the military authorities that the allied republics, convinced that war is inevitable, may determine to strike a blow at British prestige in South Africa before the arrival of any considerable reinforcements. For the first time for nearly ten years Imperial troops are now encamped within sight of the famous diamond mines which yield their lucky owners several cool millions annually. The troops arrived here in September after a very tedious journey from Cape Town—tedious beyond all ordinary experience on account of the precautions which were taken for their safety by day, and especially by night. They bivouacked for the night after their arrival in the cheerless goods station at Beaconsfield, and marched into camp early next morning, headed by the town band.

The strength of the Imperial garrison stationed here was roughly about 700 men, and a most workmanlike little force it was, comprising four companies of the Loyal North Lancashire Regiment, with two machine-guns, a battery of Royal Garrison Artillery, consisting of six seven-pounder mountain guns (Kipling's favorite "screw" pattern), a large party of Royal Engineers, and a detachment of the army medical staff, with ambulance complete, the whole being under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Kekewich, of the North Lancashire. There is a well-known military maxim to the effect that you must always remember that your enemy stands in quite as much dread of you as you do of him; and this is admirably illustrated by the fact that the Free State Boers across the frontier are firmly rooted in their belief that 10,000 British troops are already assembled in Kimberley which is, they imagine, to be the "jumping off" place for an Imperial raid into the Orange Free State. Our military authorities are doing everything they can to encourage this exaggerated impression of military strength,

as they cannot help feeling that if the Boers take the offensive the task of guarding over 1,200 miles of railway between Buluwayo and Cape Town—Kimberley is the half-way house on this long stretch of metal—will be almost beyond their capacity with the small number of troops at their disposition on the western side of the probable theatre of war. I cannot help fancying, however, that the authorities at Bloemfontein and Pretoria are much more correctly informed regarding the actual strength and disposition of Her Majesty's forces.

Life under canvas on the diamond fields is not all "beer and skittles" at this season of the year. The camp is healthy enough, and the men are quite fit and chirpy, especially the Lancashires, who have been moving all round the globe for the past seventeen years without seeing a shot fired, and are therefore burning for distinction before the battalion returns home; but the wind and dust are very trying on an exposed plateau, and the inconveniences of veldt life are painfully uppermost. Poor soldiers! they have many minor hardships to endure, and it speaks well for their morale and discipline that they bear themselves withal with admirable fortitude and equanimity. Perhaps what they feel most keenly is the sadly reduced purchasing power of the Queen's shilling in this thirsty city of the plain, and the consequent deprivation to which they have to submit of many little luxuries which help to contribute to their comfort and happiness. No doubt, when the generous inhabitants of Kimberley find this out, many a well-stocked hamper will find its way to the men's messes; for nothing could exceed the enthusiasm and good-will entertained towards the military in these stirring times. Colonel Kekewich told me that one of his clerks went to dinner at a hotel near the headquarters office and on rising to leave found that his score had been settled for him by some kindly and unobtrusive citizen, who had quietly slipped out, without making his thoughtful little act known to the object of his attention. This little incident is typical, and admirably illustrates the good feeling which prevails towards the military. An entertaining committee was formed to see that the soldiers' uniform was an open sesame to all sports, gymkhanas, and places of amusement whenever any of them could find a few hours' leisure, which I need not say are few and far between, for "service" conditions prevail.

Outside the military camp, but more or less under the supervision of the military authorities, great activity prevails. De Beers Company have armed and carefully organized their white employees, some two

thousand strong, for the defense of the mines and the costly machinery attached to them; Mr. Scott, V. C., the superintendent of De Beers Convict Station, and one of the heroes of the Zulu war, will be in command of this section of the citadel. The huge gray debris heaps, which are such a familiar feature of the diamond fields landscape, furnish natural ramparts and earthworks of great strength; and in a few hours, under the direction of the able Royal Engineers officers, who have everything ready on paper, the picks and shovels of 10,000 natives could convert each of the mines into an impregnable fortress.

Already eight Maxims have been placed in position, four on the Rock Shaft of De Beers mine and four on a commanding position at the Kimberley mine; these may be useful, apart from the danger of a Boer attack, to keep the raw natives in subjection, should they yield to excitement, as they are apt to do, and attempt to break loose from the compounds and overrun the town. A town guard which is being raised at the instance of the mayor is expected to muster 1,000 strong. Officers have been appointed, a code of danger signals drawn up, and rallying places appointed for the various sections in the event of an alarm. For the moment the men are without arms. The Civil Commissioner said he is not authorized by the Government to issue them, but he has a very large supply of Lee-Metfords in store, and the Mayor said he knew where they were. In the event of an alarm, if our red-tape Civil Commissioner shows the slightest hesitation, the armory will be forcibly entered, the Mayor being in the van, and the guns distributed. The Kimberley Regiment of Volunteers is in a poor way; and it is doubtful whether it could send more than 120 men into the field, but the Volunteer Artillery are a useful and workmanlike body, and possess a battery of six guns (7-pounder "screw"). The local artillery, sixty strong, is going into camp, and the battery will be made up to its full strength with drafts from the Royal Artillery. Besides these troops, 120 Cape police are stationed at Kimberley. They are fine-bronzed fellows, hard as nails, well accustomed to the country, and excellent material for scouting and patrol purposes and outpost duty. Elaborate arrangements have been made to obtain early intelligence of an enemy's approach; each night the whole country is lighted up for miles around with powerful electric searchlights, while patrols watch the various roads leading from the Free State and the Transvaal into this treasure-laden city. Out at Wesselson mine, which is within a very

short distance of the frontier, four old-field guns are in position, and the utmost vigilance is observed day and night. There are many Dutch people in the village of doubtful loyalty who are believed to have relations with the Boers across the frontier, and this adds very much to the prevailing anxiety and the need of vigilance. The other night a daring individual was detected attempting to pick the lock of the dynamite magazine, while an accomplice stood by holding his horse. On the alarm being raised, both men decamped, and although the country was searched, they got away in the darkness. There was also an attempt by spies or other ill-disposed persons to drive a span of mules belonging to the company over the frontier, and on this occasion one of the guards fired the first shot of the crisis, but without result. The men cleared, leaving the mules behind them.

The military authorities have established an advance depot near the Orange River Bridge, a point of great strategic value on the main line some 100 miles south of Kimberley. This is likely to have a good effect upon the colonial Boers along the southern bank of the Orange river, some of whom are by no means loyal, and have been seen of late sporting Mauser rifles, distributed gratis by republican emissaries. The force now in camp is under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Kincaid, and comprises four companies—North Lancashire, with two machine guns; a detachment Royal Artillery, with two mountain guns; a detachment Royal Engineers, and 150 mounted infantry. The feature of this force is its extreme mobility. It is ready to move in any direction—north, south, east or west—leaving a small and strongly entrenched detachment to guard the bridge. Troops are also about to be moved from King Williamstown and Grahamstown to Aliwal North, and it is hoped these measures may suffice for the present to ward off danger in that direction.

CHAPTER XL.

PREPARING FOR THE STRUGGLE.

The Boers, as soon as war was absolutely inevitable, began massing troops and artillery at Laing's Nek, the pass leading into Natal, near Majuba Hill, the scene of the famous defeat of the British troops, and the British War Office was at work night and day, completing the plans to send a contingent of Indian troops to South Africa and making preparations to send an army corps to the same place. General Sir George Stewart White, V. C., the British Commander in Natal, at the outbreak of hostilities had about 15,000 men under his command, stationed at Newcastle, Glencoe, Dundee, Ladysmith, Colenso and Durban, with Ladysmith as the headquarters and main camp. Natal at that part of the country ran as a sort of neck into the Transvaal, and had the Orange Free State on its west side. The country is mountainous and admirably adapted to the tactics of the Boers, whose mobile forces were acquainted, generally speaking, with every foot of the ground traversed.

British troops soon began to move toward South Africa. They were sent from Malta, Gibraltar, Crete and Bombay, as fast as transports could take them, and the British Colonies and Canada volunteered to send military detachments to the assistance of the Imperial forces in South Africa, which was accepted. British agents in different parts of the world, especially in the United States, hurriedly purchased many thousands of mules and thousands of tons of provisions of different descriptions.

The Continental newspapers were jubilant at the trouble of Great Britain and loud in their expressions of sympathy with the Boers. There was much talk of a combination of the European powers against Great Britain, and this was met by preparations for the mobilization of part of the British reserve fleet and the strengthening of the Mediterranean and Channel squadrons. In addition, a Special Service squadron was formed to act promptly in case of an emergency, and some of the Army Reserves of Great Britain were called to the colors, "merely to show the other fellows what we can do."

So far as Great Britain was concerned, she did not enter upon the

war with any great feeling of enthusiasm. Pretty nearly, if not quite one-half, the people of the British Empire were opposed to the war, and those who supported the Government did so more from a feeling of loyalty than from conscientious or patriotic motives. The great Liberal leaders, as we have shown by their speeches, were not in favor of the war, and even among the British Government's supporters there were many good men who disapproved at heart with the policy mapped out by Mr. Chamberlain.

On the other hand, the Boers entered upon the war in about the same spirit as Americans went into the War of Independence, firmly convinced of the justice of their cause, and resolved to sacrifice their lives in defense of their liberties and the right to legislate as they pleased within their own territory.

At Woolwich Arsenal, September 20, the utmost activity prevailed. Maxim guns, Lyddite shells, balloon equipments, gas reservoirs, wagons for lime-light apparatus, ambulances, telegraph wagons, camp kitchens, and, in short, every description of the countless other adjuncts to scientific warfare were being hastily shipped to South Africa, while the world looked on in silence.

At Pretoria a similar state of bustle prevailed. The Boer troops were moving in all directions, supplies and ammunition were being conveyed to all the strategical points, and preparations generally were made to make things as lively as possible for the British in all parts of South Africa. The British Commander-in-Chief, Field Marshal Lord Wolseley, was in constant communication with the British Secretary of State for War, the Marquis of Landsdowne. Incidentally, before the war was many weeks old these officials became so unpopular that they had to hide their heads in the sand and allow the War Office, as an institution, to send out the bulletins received from the front.

The armed burghers of the Orange Free State began moving almost as soon as those of the Transvaal, and the Dutch in all parts of South Africa were incited to rise against the British.

But this was not all. The "Black Peril," otherwise the original natives of South Africa, were tempted or threatened in various ways by the Boers, and the situation grew more and more dangerous.

The exodus of peaceable inhabitants from Johannesburg increased every day, and throughout South Africa the rattle of swords, rumbling of guns and clatter of small arms was to be heard.

Mr. William Hayes Fisher, a Junior Lord of the British Treasury and formerly Secretary of Mr. Arthur Balfour, the Government leader, in the course of an address, September 20, at Kenilworth, England, said:

"The sands have already run through the glass for President Kruger. We must have enough troops in Africa when the ultimatum is presented to insure the achievement of our objects. Then, perhaps, the Boers will listen to reason and will not enter upon an unequal contest, nor invite us to inflict a crushing defeat and to take their cherished country from them."

The British ultimatum was never presented, unless the diplomatic correspondence of ultimatum flavor could be so considered. But, the phrase, "the sands have already run through the glass for President Kruger," became to a certain extent historical, for it was commented upon unfavorably in many parts of the world.

There was an important meeting of the British Cabinet, September 22. The Transvaal question and the latest exchange of notes between the two Governments were fully discussed. We have not entered into the details of the last communications because they were practically repetitions of the previous statements, and were probably intended, on both sides, to gain time for the movement of troops, and to court the sympathy of the foreign powers as much as possible by apparently displaying willingness to accept concessions, and ostensibly showing a desire to avoid war. But it is more than likely that the two parties to the dispute had long before firmly made up their minds that an armed struggle was unavoidable, and, in fact, they appear to have welcomed the end of the long and tedious bombardment by notes and the beginning of the appeal to blood and iron.

Major-General Sir Redvers Buller, a stern, merciless man, was appointed to the supreme command of the British forces in South Africa, and, on his insistence, was given *carte blanche* as to the number of men he needed and as to the composition of the force. British transports began to gather at all the home ports and the war fever began to agitate Great Britain, though, as previously stated, there were very many people who doubted the justness of Great Britain's cause.

The following semi-official announcement was made, September 23, regarding the result of the meeting of the British Cabinet:

"A dispatch will be sent to the Government of the South African

Republic in answer to its recent dispatch, and a strong protest will be made against the accusation of bad faith against Mr. Greene. The dispatch expresses profound regret because of the refusal by the South African Republic of the offer of Her Majesty's Government, and states that Her Majesty's Government will now proceed to formulate its own proposals for a settlement. These proposals will be considered at a later Cabinet meeting."

In the meanwhile the Orange Free State had also been getting ready for war, and in South Africa the movement of troops was incessant, the Boers and British occupying strategic positions and preparing generally for all eventualities.

The exodus of Outlanders from the Transvaal to Cape Colony and Natal continued night and day, and the refugees complained bitterly of the treatment they were alleged to have been subjected to by the Boers.

General Joubert personally assumed command of the Boer forces of the Transvaal and General Lucas Meyers assumed the direction of the forces of the Orange Free State.

It was roughly estimated that the Boers of the two republics would be able to put about 100,000 men in the field, and the military authorities of Great Britain made preparations to have, in all, about 80,000 men under arms in South Africa. These figures, upon the part of the British, were subsequently increased by about 10,000 more men.

The German Government was expected to give "moral support" to the Boers, but it developed that the understanding arrived at between Great Britain and Germany about a year ago on the subject of their African colonies was so satisfactory to Emperor William that he decided to remain strictly neutral.

An official of the German Foreign Office, September 23, voiced the attitude of Germany, saying:

"Of course, it is in no sense to our interest to have England and the Transvaal go to war. That little Boer nation will finally succumb, and, probably, will be wiped out of existence. It is only too likely that this will diminish our prestige in South Africa, and injure our not inconsiderable material interests there, for our trade with the Boer states is increasing, and is only next to that of England. Other interests will also be jeopardized or injured in such a struggle. Still there is no occasion and no political or moral right for us to interfere. So long as our undoubted rights are respected by the belligerents we shall not interfere."

mencement of hostilities. Another Boer force assembled at Vryheid and a third took up a position at Sandspruit.

During this time the British occupied Dundee and Glencoe, in Natal, and took other steps to meet the Boer advances, including gathering a large quantity of all sorts of stores at Ladysmith and the gathering of a force at De Aar, in Cape Colony, southeast of the Orange Free State, and an important railroad junction. There extensive fortifications were constructed, as it was planned to make the town a base of future operations against the Free State or the Transvaal.

General Joubert and his staff arrived at Wakkerstroom, September 29, the Boers mobilized at Utrecht and at the railroad bridge on the Transvaal side of the Buffalo River, and made ready to cross into Natal. Other Boer forces gathered at Middleburg, Volksrust and Bremersdorp. The requisitioning of horses and provisions proceeded on all sides in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, and the British occupied Colenso, Natal, in force, and pushed further supplies to the front.

At Mafeking, British Bechuanaland, and at Fort Tuli, Rhodesia, the British prepared for sieges, as the Boers began gathering about those places early in October, and it was understood that the two garrisons would have to hold out until reinforcements could be sent to them.

The Pope, at Rome, October 1, celebrated mass for peace in South Africa, and speaking to the Cardinals after the ceremony, His Holiness expressed profound sorrow at the coming conflict.

Then the cutting of wires in various directions began.



A TYPICAL BOER BOY.



AN ENVIABLE ZULU PHYSIQUE.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE TORCH OF WAR LIGHTED.

Everything was ready on the Boer side, October 3, for a rapid invasion of Natal. General Jan Kock commanded the Boer forces on the northern Natal border, General Cronje had charge of the Boer troops on the southwestern border, and General Malan was in command of the Boers at Rustenberg. In all there were nine Boer Generals in command of as many well-armed bodies of farmer-soldiers, all splendid shots, their skill with the rifle having been acquired by long practice at target-shooting and in hunting. They were well supplied with the most modern artillery, and in this respect were better equipped than the British. Besides this, the Boers, fighting for their land and liberty, were filled with a warlike enthusiasm, which counts a great deal while courting the Goddess of Victory.

General Sir William Symons, the second in command under General White, had his headquarters at Glencoe, and his advance force was at Newcastle, a town further north. In all the British had about 15,000 men in Natal, and it is probable that the Boers mustered some 40,000 fighting men in Natal, at various points.

The Orange Free State troops closed Botha's Pass, October 2, and General Allriche, Chief of the Free State Artillery, proceeded in the direction of Kimberley, the great diamond center, with a strong force of Boers.

The following day the Boers left their laager, or protected camp, at Volksrust, not far from Majuba Hill, and were moving toward the Natal border.

At about the same time it was announced that President Kruger had sent an ultimatum to Great Britain, giving the British forty-eight hours in which to withdraw their troops from the Transvaal border.

The first match set to the torch of war was the commandeering, or requisitioning, in the Orange Free State, October 6, of 800 tons of coal, belonging to the Government of Cape Colony, which was in transit through the Free State. This in itself might have been smoothed over. But from that time events moved rapidly and the British agent

at Pretoria, Mr. Conyngham Greene, began to make the first preparations for his departure from the Boer capital.

The Generals in command of the Boer forces on the Natal border held a council of war, October 6, and the British Parliament was summoned, October 7, to meet October 17 for the purpose of indorsing the Government's policy in South Africa and providing the sinews of war. British Reserves to the number of 25,000 men were also called out. About 94 per cent. of the Reserves responded to the call during the following week, the shipment of troops to South Africa was pushed more vigorously than ever, and it became apparent that General Buller was to command twice as many soldiers as the famous Duke of Wellington, who defeated Napoleon at Waterloo, had ever had under his command.

The long-expected thunder-clap came October 10, when the British officially received the ultimatum from the Transvaal, demanding that the points in dispute between the two Governments be referred to arbitration; that all the British troops on the Transvaal border be instantly withdrawn; that the reinforcements sent to Africa since June 1 be recalled and that no further troops be landed. An answer was demanded by 5 P. M., October 11.

The text of the Boer ultimatum was as follows:

"Her Majesty's unlawful intervention in the internal affairs of this republic, in conflict with the London Convention of 1884, by the extraordinary strengthening of her troops in the neighborhood of the borders of this republic, has caused an intolerable condition of things to arise, to which this Government feels itself obliged, in the interest not only of this republic, but also of all South Africa, to make an end as soon as possible; and this Government feels itself called upon and obliged to press earnestly, and with emphasis, for an immediate termination of this state of things, and to request Her Majesty's Government to give assurances upon the following four demands:

"First—That all points of mutual difference be regulated by friendly recourse to arbitration, or by whatever amicable way may be agreed upon by this Government and Her Majesty's Government.

"Second—That all troops on the borders of this republic shall be instantly withdrawn.

"Third—That all reinforcements of troops which have arrived in

South Africa since June 1, 1899, shall be removed from South Africa within a reasonable time to be agreed upon with this Government and with the mutual assurance and guarantee on the part of this Government that no attack upon or hostilities against any portion of the possessions of the British Government shall be made by this republic during the further negotiations, within a period of time to be subsequently agreed upon between the Governments; and this Government will, on compliance therewith, be prepared to withdraw the armed burghers of this republic from the borders.

"Fourth—That Her Majesty's troops which are now on the high seas shall not be landed in any part of South Africa.

"This Government presses for an immediate and affirmative answer to these four questions and earnestly requests Her Majesty's Government to return an answer before or upon Wednesday, October 11, 1899, not later than 5 o'clock P. M.

"It desires further to add that in the unexpected event of an answer not satisfactory being received by it within the interval, it will with great regret be compelled to regard the action of Her Majesty's Government as a formal declaration of war, and will not hold itself responsible for the consequences thereof, and that, in the event of any further movement of troops occurring within the above-mentioned time in a nearer direction to our borders, this Government will be compelled to regard that also as a formal declaration of war.

"I have the honor to be, respectfully yours,

"F. W. Reitz, State Secretary."

The British Government sent a "short but dignified" reply, which meant a refusal to withdraw the British troops.

It was as follows:

"Her Majesty's Government has received with great regret the peremptory demands of the Government of the South African Republic conveyed in your telegram of October 10.

"You will inform the Government of the South African Republic, in reply, that the conditions demanded by the Government of the South African Republic are such as Her Majesty's Government deem it impossible to discuss."

In London the news was received with a feeling of relief, but it was

realized slowly that the campaign would not be a picnic for the British troops.

At the Alhambra Theater, London, General Buller was present when the news reached the audience, and the first bars of "Rule, Britannia," caused the audience to spring to their feet and cheer wildly for Queen and country. In the British barracks, at the military clubs and elsewhere similar scenes of patriotic enthusiasm were witnessed, though on a milder scale.

The English newspapers, the next morning, expressed "pity" for President Kruger.

The Standard said:

"The Transvaal's worst enemies could hardly have supposed that its arrogance would lead it to such extravagance. The note is written in a style which would be offensive if it came from a first-rate power, and is inconceivably ridiculous as emanating from a trumpery little state which exists only by Great Britain's forbearance."

The Daily Mail remarked:

"The Boers have doffed the mask and declared war, which their deluded supporters in England considered so impossible. Doubtless, at first we may suffer, but we suffered before, and in the end the Boers and their supporters will receive the punishment which their insane attempt to perpetuate on an almost barbaric system their Government in the nineteenth century most thoroughly deserves."

The Daily News asserted that the Boers' best friends would "deplore that they had put themselves in the wrong."

The Daily Telegraph said:

"President Kruger has slammed the door in the face of Great Britain with all the violence of infuriated folly. He appears to have celebrated his birthday in a manner which will bring his republic clattering down upon his head."

The Times remarked:

"The news that the Transvaal has taken such an infatuated step will be received with profound regret by a majority of the British people. To the last we clung to the hope that bloodshed would be avoided, but that hope has been deliberately quenched by the wanton action of the Pretoria Government.

"In tone and substance alike the ultimatum is a document of studied, insolent defiance. It is the Transvaal, not we, who snap the

last frail thread of negotiations. They have declared war upon the British Empire, and they must feel her arm and pay the penalty of their aggression."

The editorial of the Times concluded:

"With Swinburne—in a vigorous and characteristic sonnet which he sends us to-day—the sons of Cromwell and of Blake will cry, 'Strike, England, and strike home!' it is in the old cause."

Lord James of Hereford, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was the first British Minister to refer publicly to the ultimatum. Speaking at Aberdeen, October 10, he said:

"The Government has done everything in its power to preserve peace. Apparently, however, diplomacy is ended and the hopes of peace are virtually destroyed, and that not by the action of the Queen's Government, but by the Transvaal Government.

"President Kruger has sent an ultimatum. If we were to withdraw our troops at his bidding we should suffer the greatest humiliation, and the Government would deserve to be hunted from office as craven cowards."

Lord James added that he had intended, before receiving the news of the ultimatum, to take a different view of the position, but now "nothing remains but to commend our cause to the God of Battle and Arms, and to implore His blessing upon the engagement about to be entered upon."

General Joubert, in the meantime, ordered his troops to prepare for an immediate advance.

The greatest enthusiasm was displayed in London, Southampton, Liverpool and other places at the departure of the troops for South Africa.

The following dispatch from the Transvaal Government to the British Colonial Secretary was made public October 11, in order to complete the publication of the correspondence between the two countries:

"Sir:—The Government of the South African Republic feels itself compelled to refer the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland once more to the Convention of London, 1884, concluded between this republic and the United Kingdom, and which, in article 14, secures certain specified rights to the white population of this republic—namely, that all persons, other than natives, on conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic:

"A. Will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic.

"B. Will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops and other premises.

"C. May carry on their commerce either in person or by any agent or agents whom they may think fit to employ.

"D. Shall not be subject, in respect of their premises or property or in respect of their commerce and industry, to any taxes other than those which are, or may be, imposed upon the citizens of the said republic.

"This Government wishes further to observe that the above are the only rights which Her Majesty's Government have reserved in the above Convention with regard to the Outlander population of this republic, and that a violation only of those rights could give that Government a right to diplomatic representations or intervention; while, moreover, the regulating of all other questions affecting the position of the rights of the Outlander population, under the above-mentioned Convention, is handed over to the Government and representatives of the people of the South African Republic.

"Among the questions the regulation of which falls exclusively within the competence of this Government and of the Volksraad are included those of franchise and the representation of the people in this republic; and, although this exclusive right of this Government and of the Volksraad for the regulation of the franchise and the representation of the people is indisputable, yet this Government has found occasion to discuss, in friendly fashion, the franchise and representation of the people with Her Majesty's Government, without, however, recognizing any right thereto on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

"This Government has also, by the formulation of the now existing franchise law and by a resolution with regard to the representation, constantly held these friendly discussions before its eyes. On the part of Her Majesty's Government, however, the friendly nature of these discussions has assumed more and more a threatening tone, and the minds of the people of this republic and the whole of South Africa have been excited and a condition of extreme tension has been created, owing to the fact that Her Majesty's Government could no longer agree to the legislation respecting the franchise and the resolution respecting representation in this republic, and finally by your note of September 25,

1899, which broke off all friendly correspondence on the subject and intimated that Her Majesty's Government must now proceed to formulate their own proposals for the final settlement.

"This Government can only see in the above intimation from her Majesty's Government a new violation of the Convention of London, 1884, which does not reserve to Her Majesty's Government the right to a unilateral settlement of a question which is exclusively a domestic one for this Government, and which has already been regulated by this Government.

"On account of the strained situation and the consequent serious loss in and interruption of trade in general which the correspondence respecting the franchise and the representation of the people of this republic has carried in its train, Her Majesty's Government has recently pressed for an early settlement, and finally pressed, by your intervention, for an answer within forty-eight hours, a demand subsequently somewhat modified, to your note of September 12, replied to by the note of this Government of September 15, and to your note of September 25, 1899; and thereafter further friendly negotiations were broken off, this Government receiving an intimation that a proposal for a final settlement would shortly be made.

"Although this promise was once repeated, the proposal up to now has not reached this Government. Even while friendly correspondence was still going on the increase of troops on a large scale was introduced by Her Majesty's Government, the troops being stationed in the neighborhood of the borders of this Republic.

"Having regard to occurrences in the history of this Republic which it is unnecessary here to call to mind, this Republic felt obliged to regard this military force in the neighborhood of its borders as a threat against the independence of the South African Republic, since it was aware of no circumstances which would justify the presence of such a military force in South Africa and in the neighborhood of its borders.

"In answer to an inquiry with respect thereto, addressed to His Excellency the High Commissioner, this Government received, to its great astonishment, a veiled insinuation that from the side of the Republic an attack was being made on Her Majesty's colonies, and, at the same time a mysterious reference to possibilities, whereby this Government was strengthened in its suspicion that the independence of this Republic was being threatened."

CHAPTER XLII.

THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR.

The Boers entered Natal October 11 and the same day the Consul General of the Transvaal in London, Mr. Montague White, closed the Consulate and left the British capital.

Before leaving England, Mr. White said:

"The expected has happened. I only hope the 'hellishness' of the premeditated crushing out of a hardy Republic is now apparent. Let me remind America that the onus of war lies not upon those who fire the first shot, but upon those who compel it to be fired. Technically we have temporarily put ourselves in the attitude of an aggressor; but who would not have done so when we believed the existence of this country was at stake?

"I think we must look far ahead to see the consequences of this war. Instead of the pacification of South Africa, which is the alleged aim of England, we shall have perpetual unrest. These very people for whom England is now fighting will turn against her in time to come and protest against her rule as bitterly as they are now protesting against ours.

"For weeks I have seen England's determination to force a hostile issue, or rather Mr. Chamberlain's. I am sure he is the only member of the Cabinet whose mind was thoroughly made up throughout all the negotiations. What his intentions were is evident from the situation to-day. Had the franchise been the chief grievance, our five-year proposition would certainly have been accepted. I have reason to believe that England enters upon her warlike course by no means a unit. Opposition to Mr. Chamberlain's policy exists to a greater extent than is generally conceived.

"Our evident desire to conciliate has been much appreciated, and our refusal to allow our household affairs to be administered by another nation has not excited genuine indignation here or in any other quarter of the globe. However, Mr. Chamberlain has accomplished his purpose, and all hope is gone. I believe, nevertheless, that a considerable reversal in British opinion would be effected by any serious defeat, for most of those now supporting the Government are doing so with a

light heart and on general principles, not stopping to count the cost of war.

"I suppose there can be only one ultimate result of hostilities. As to the duration of the war I am not able to venture even a guess. It seems to me a matter of the greatest uncertainty. I hear that Great Britain will not begin the wiping out process until December. In the meantime we shall see what we shall see.

"I have received no special instructions or news from the Transvaal during the last forty-eight hours, and I expect none, having long ago received directions as to the course for me to take when matters reached this stage. I shall remain on the Continent, and if anything further can be done in the interest of my Government I shall, of course, endeavor to do it, though there seems nothing left but to fight it out to the bitter, unjust end."

The first meeting between the Boers and British in Natal, October 11, was not very serious. A British mounted patrol was stoned by the Boers and the former retired, having received orders not to fire unless first fired upon.

The same day the Orange Free State Boers seized a Natal Government train at Harrismith and crossed the border into Natal.

The British High Commissioner in South Africa, also on October 11, issued a proclamation declaring that all persons who aided or abetted the enemy were guilty of high treason.

The British Agent at Pretoria was then recalled and handed over the care of British interests in the Transvaal to the American Consul at Pretoria, Mr. Charles E. Macrum.

The Boers poured into Natal October 12 and 13, moving with the greatest rapidity, threatening the towns of Newcastle, Glencoe and Dundee. The first place occupied by them was Ingogo, a small place north of Newcastle and between that town and Laing's Nek. From there they moved on Newcastle. Other Boer forces began making raids into Zululand and commenced the investment of Kimberley, Mafeking and Fort Tuli.

In addition to entering Natal through Laign's Nek, the Boers pressed into that Colony from the Orange Free State, and through Van Reenan's Pass, and thus prevented the further sending of British troops northward, for it was soon seen that the garrison of Ladysmith could not be weakened, especially as the Boers were operating

with large bodies of mounted men, which enabled them to get over the ground much more quickly than the British infantry.

The first real clash occurred at Kraaipan, on the Buluwayo Railroad, forty miles south of Mafeking, where a British armored train, known as the Mosquito, was wrecked by the Boers October 12.

The official dispatch reported the train's capture as follows:

"From the General Officer Commanding, Cape, to the Secretary of State for War:

" 'Cape Town, October 13, 1:40 p. m.

" 'Armored train from Mafeking escorted 2-7-pr. guns sent from here to Mafeking was attacked last night at Kraaipan, about forty miles south of Mafeking. Apparently the rail had been removed and the train left the rail. Boers fired into it with artillery for half an hour and captured it. Communication by telegraph is interrupted with Mafeking at Kraaipan. The women and children have been sent to Cape Town.'

"The guns referred to belonged to the Colony and are light guns and of old pattern.

"We have no details as to casualties."

Details of the capture of the train, received later, show that it was in command of Captain Nesbitt, V. C., of the Mashonaland Police, who had with him fifteen men of the Protectorate Regiment. The train carried two seven-pounders, a quantity of ammunition, a number of workmen and six residents of Maribogo, who sought refuge on the train when they heard of the Boer advance. At Maribogo Captain Nesbitt was warned that the Boers held the line, but he said he was bound to proceed, and did so with the following result. On nearing Kraaipan the train ran into a culvert, which had previously been blown up by the Boers and who, crouching in well-sheltered places in a "sluit," or ravine, were lying in wait for the Mosquito. No sooner was the engine overturned than the Boers opened fire with their rifles on the train and for four hours plumped bullets into and around it. The party with the train, badly shaken up by the train crashing into the open culvert, sought refuge in the armored cars and replied all night as best they could to the fire of the Boers. When morning broke the Boers brought up some artillery and dropped seven shells into the

wrecked train, which caused its defenders to show the white flag and become prisoners of the Boers.

A man named Flowerday, the driver of the engine of the armored train, who escaped, gave the following account of the incident: He said that the train consisted of an armored car, in which were fifteen men, a short truck loaded with ammunition, and a "bogey" car carrying two big guns and a quantity of shells. He added:

"The Boers sniped us all night and at daybreak started with their big guns. All their shells were aimed at the engine, which was soon in a bad way. All this time I was lying down inside the truck, until I heard an officer order a flag of truce to be shown. Two flags were raised, but the Boers paid no heed to them for about a quarter of an hour. When they ceased firing I got out of the truck and crawled on my stomach for about a mile and a half, until the Boers were out of sight. I had a miraculous escape. I made my way to Maribogo. I do not know what became of the others, but feel certain that all were taken prisoners. The Boers' shells did not touch the trucks containing the guns. The ammunition must have fallen into the hands of the Boers undamaged."

Mr. Rhodes, who was at Kimberley October 14, was busily engaged in superintending the work of defense. He was as chipper and overconfident as ever and laughingly remarked that the place was "as safe as Piccadilly," referring to one of the most fashionable and crowded thoroughfares of London. The next day all communication with Kimberley by rail or telegraph was cut off, and the Boers having offered the sum of £25,000 for Mr. Rhodes, dead or alive, the position of that enterprising gentleman was far from pleasant.

The first shots in Natal were exchanged between the British and Boer scouts, near Glencoe, October 14, the Boers, it was added, withdrawing.

The Boers next seized the railroad station at Spyfontein, near Kimberley, and fortified it with earthworks, cut the railroad at Belmont, fifty-six miles south of Kimberley and also cut the railroad at a point twelve miles south of Kimberley. At that time it was estimated that about 4,000 men were available for the defense of Kimberley.

At Mafeking and Kimberley, soon after the outbreak of war, several unimportant skirmishes took place, both sides claiming to have had the advantage. Other skirmishes occurred near Vryburg.

The British War Office, October 16, issued the following note, summing up the situation in South Africa at that time:

"The dispatches received do not point to any material change in the military situation. Small bodies of Boers are reported to have crossed the Natal frontier at various points, and intrenchments are said to have been thrown up at Van Reenan's Pass."

In the meantime the Boers had occupied Newcastle without opposition and Dundee was threatened.

The British Parliament was opened October 17. The Queen's Speech, read from the Throne, in the House of Lords, was as follows:

"My Lords and Gentlemen: Within a very brief period after the recent prorogation I am compelled by events deeply affecting the interests of my empire to recur to your advice and aid.

"The state of affairs in South Africa has made it expedient that my Government should be enabled to strengthen the military forces of this country by calling out the Reserve. For this purpose the provisions of the law render it necessary that Parliament should be called together.

"Except for the difficulties that have been caused by the action of the South African Republic, the condition of the world continues to be peaceful.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons: Measures will be laid before you for the purpose of providing the expenditure which has been or may be caused by events in South Africa. Estimates for the ensuing year will be submitted to you in due course.

"My Lords and Gentlemen: There are many subjects of domestic interest to which your attention will be invited at a later period, when the ordinary season for the labors of a Parliamentary session has been reached. For the present I have invited your attendance in order to ask you to deal with an exceptional exigency; and I pray that, in performing the duties which claim your attention, you may have the guidance and blessings of Almighty God."

Lord Salisbury, the Premier, replying to criticisms on the Government's policy in South Africa, upon the part of the Liberal leader in the House of Lords, the Earl of Kimberley, said:

"The Boer Government was pleased to dispense with any explanation on our part respecting the causes or justification of the war. It has done what no provocation on our part could have justified. It

has done what the strongest nation has never in its strength done to any opponent it had challenged. It issued a defiance so audacious that I could scarcely depict it without using words unsuited for this assembly, and by so doing they liberated this country from the necessity of explaining to the people of England why we are at war. But for this no one could have predicted that we would ever be at war.

"There have been very grave questions between us; but, up to the time of the ultimatum, the modes we had suggested of settling them were successful and the spirit in which we were met was encouraging. We lately had hoped that the future had in reserve for us a better fate.

"But now all questions of possible peace, all questions of justifying the attitude we had assumed and all questions of pointing out the errors and the grave oppression of which the Transvaal Government has been guilty—all these questions have been wiped away in this one great insult, which leaves us no other course than the one which has received the assent of the whole nation and which it is our desire to carry out.

"It is a satisfactory feature of our policy during these later days that, on questions involving the vital interests and honor of the country, there are no distinctions of party."

The Premier also said that he believed that a desire to get rid of the word "suzerainty" and the reality which it expressed had been the controlling desire—the dream—of President Kruger's life.

"I agree," he added, "that the word 'suzerainty' is not necessary for Great Britain's present purpose. Situated as Great Britain is in South Africa towards the Transvaal and the Outlanders, she has a duty to fulfill which has nothing to do with any convention or any question of suzerainty. This word, however, being put into the treaty, obtained an artificial value and meaning which have prevented Great Britain from entirely abandoning it. If Great Britain dropped it she would be intimating that she also repudiated and abandoned the ideas attached to it.

"It was largely due to the character of Mr. Kruger and to the ideas pursued by him that we have been led step by step to the present moment, when we are compelled to decide whether the future of South Africa will be a growing Dutch supremacy or a safe, perfectly established supremacy of the English people."

Colonel Baden-Powell, the British commander at Mafeking, made a sortie from that place October 16, and, it was asserted, inflicted

severe loss on the Boers, losing only eighteen killed on his side; and there was an armored train engagement a few days earlier, near Mafeking, in which the British were reported to have been victorious. The British troops on board the armored train acted as a covering force to military engineers engaged in repairing the track. A Maxim on the train kept up a continuous fire. Conspicuous bravery is said to have been displayed on both sides; but the rifles of the burghers were ineffective against the train. The latter, however, was once forced to retreat before a particularly strong assault, but it returned, accompanied by a British mounted contingent, and the fighting was renewed fiercely and ended in the retreat of the Boers.

Other engagements with armored trains were reported, but the losses on either side were insignificant, though the Boers appear to have been repulsed in all cases. One report had it that Colonel Baden-Powell, in his sortie in force from Mafeking, killed 300 of the enemy.

Mafeking, when the war broke out, was practically without fortifications except for such earthworks as Colonel Baden-Powell had been able to throw up. It stands on the edge of the great veldt, or plain, that rolls westward to the Kalahari and northward to Bechuanaland. On the eastern side the horizon is broken by hills that fringe the border of the Transvaal, but the intervening ground, being only slightly undulated, and almost bare of rocks and trees, is not at all the sort of country that lends itself to Boer tactics.

Briefly, Mafeking is only a small cluster of corrugated iron houses, but is an important place in South Africa. Up to three years ago, before the railroad was extended to Gaberones and thence to Buluwayo, it was the terminus for the line which is ultimately to connect Cape Town with Cairo; and even now it is the starting point for hunters, explorers and traders who meditate a trek into Bechuanaland or the Kalahari Desert.

The position of Mafeking on the trade route between Kimberley diamond mines and the north makes it a thriving little settlement, where all manner of men meet—diggers and speculators on their way up country to the gold mines of Rhodesia, sportsmen back from the Kalahari with giraffe skins and hippopotamus hides, natives from beyond the Zambesi drawn south by the wages to be earned at Kimberley or Johannesburg, ranchmen or traders in their long covered wagons, and members of the Bechuanaland mounted police, always on guard

in the little town where Cape Colony ends and the protectorate begins.

Our readers will remember that it was at Mafeking that Dr. Jameson collected the force for his raid into the Transvaal, and it was with the same stamp of men—all of them used to roughing it on the veldt, all of them good shots, good horsemen and good fighters—that Colonel Baden-Powell defended the place against the Boers. Probably about half his men were volunteers of the same class as Colonel Roosevelt's Rough Riders—English University graduates, ranchmen, sportsmen and traders.

The pasture land around Mafeking is said to be some of the best in the whole of South Africa, and has drawn to it a remarkably fine set of active and high-spirited colonists.

So far as known the defensive force, besides the protectorate regiment under Colonel Baden-Powell, included the British South African police, under Colonel Walford, and a party of Cape police, and the local volunteers and town guard.

The day after the outbreak of war the following dispatch was received from Mafeking:

"Every precaution has been taken against attack. All the streets are barred by wagons. It is reported that the Boers intend to shell the town before delivering their attack. They are said to possess twelve guns. Every man in Mafeking now carries a rifle. The military authorities are confident in their ability to repel an attack, but they lack force to follow up a Boer retreat. The town is fairly quiet considering its situation. The great question discussed is, Will the Boers come? Many doubt it. Railway communication with the south is practically at the mercy of the Boers, over two hundred miles of line being within easy striking distance of enterprising commandos. Sad scenes were witnessed at the station here on the departure of the women and children. It is estimated that in the event of the main line being blown up at any point to the southward the damage can be repaired in a few hours."

A telegram from Kimberley at the same time said that the demeanor of Kimberley was one of calm confidence. The whole town guard had been called out for active service and arrangements had been made for the protection of women and children at the town hall.

The coast towns by this time were crowded with refugees from the Transvaal and so much distress prevailed among them that a popular subscription was started by the Lord Mayor of London.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE BATTLE OF GLENCOE.

The Boers, October 20, captured a train which left Ladysmith the same day for Glencoe and Dundee, with a number of officers and civilians on board. They also cut the wires to Glencoe.

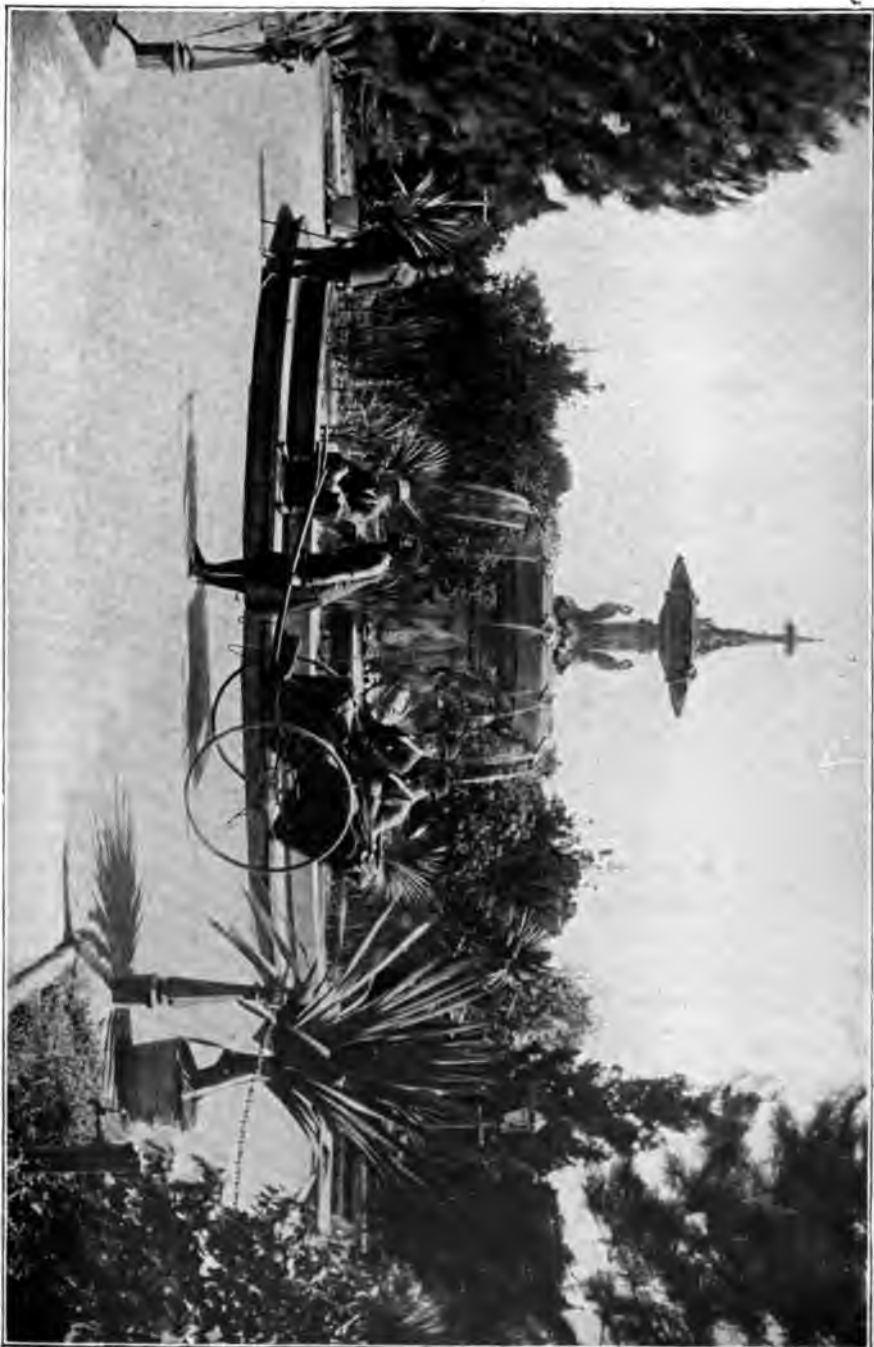
The Battle of Glencoe was fought the same day.

For days previous to this engagement, the Boers had been gradually closing in on Glencoe and the British scouts had reported the Boers in strong force at various places in the vicinity. When morning broke the British discovered that the Boers, during the night, had taken up a strong position on Dundee Hill, about three miles east of Glencoe and overlooking the camp of General Symons. The Boers, who were estimated to number about 6,000 men, were commanded by General Joubert and General Jan Kock. The first shot came from a Boer gun at exactly 6 A. M., and a few minutes later a heavy artillery fire had been opened on the British position. The bombardment, however, did little damage. The British artillery replied with such good effect that the Boer guns were soon silenced.

The Boers then attempted to turn the British position and an advance of the British cavalry and infantry was ordered. Under the fire of the British guns, these troops pushed forward towards the hill occupied by the Boers, which they reached in the face of a terrific rifle fire. Twice the British attempted to reach the top of the hill, only to be driven back. The third time, however, rallied by General Symons in person, who was shot through the stomach and mortally wounded in so doing, the British charged up the hill, captured the Boers' position and drove them back, eastward, with great slaughter.

There was gallant fighting on both sides, Boer and Briton fought for about nine hours, and it was cold steel which carried the day on top of that bloody hill, strewn with the bodies of dead and dying.

The British artillerymen, at the beginning of the engagement, did great execution, their shells dropping among the Boers with great accuracy, killing very many of them and enabling the infantry and cavalry to advance by rushes in spite of the hail of bullets sweeping in their direction.



FOUNTAIN AND RICKSHA IN BOTANICAL GARDENS IN DURBAN, NATAL.



ZULU WOMEN DRINKING "UMJUJUALA" IN FRONT OF A NATIVE DWELLING.

At the beginning of the battle, the Boers held the whole of the hills from a place known as Smith's Farm to the Dundee Hill, to the south, which was the objective point of the British troops when the advance began.

No sooner had the Boer guns been silenced than General Symons led the advance, his troops, when the hill was reached, adopting the tactics in which they had previously been well trained, of taking advantage of every little inequality of ground to find cover from the Boer fire and then rushing forward, as the fire slackened, to some other place of vantage.

The Irish Fusiliers and the King's Royal Rifles particularly distinguished themselves in the brilliant charges made, and their officers, refusing to seek cover like the rank and file, were shot down in great numbers as they cheered their men on up that terrible hill. In fact, had it not been for the gallantry of General Symons and his officers, it leaked out some time afterwards, this dashing British victory would most likely have been turned into a crushing defeat for the British forces.

The British captured a number of guns on top of the hill; but they lost a squadron of the Eighteenth Hussars, which went in pursuit of the Boers. The Hussars, too rash or badly led, or both, rode after the Boers until they suddenly found themselves confronted by a vastly superior force and were compelled to surrender.

When the British infantry, with triumphant yells, swarmed over the crest of the hill, the Boers retreated in disorder.

The loss on both sides was heavy.

The British loss began after the battle was renewed, following the lull which ensued, upon the cannonading of the British which silenced the guns of the Boers. The Indian Hospital Corps, composed of Coolies under Major Donegan, of the Eighteenth Hussars, ran out, keeping in the rear of the advancing infantry and artillery.

In the meantime a squadron of the Eighteenth Hussars and a mounted company of the Dublin Fusiliers had crept around on the Boer left flank, while another squadron of the Hussars and a mounted company of the Rifles deployed to the right flank, at the cornfields.

The British artillery continued to fire on Smith's Hill with a range of nearly 3,000 yards. Under cover of this fire the Fusiliers and the

Rifles pressed forward. It was in the execution of this manoeuvre that the casualties to the British infantry occurred.

General Symons, taking advantage of a lull, rode forward with his staff in front of the guns, taking cover at the rear of the plantation, near the base of the hill, while the British infantry, in extended formation, gradually pressed forward, watching the Boers from the rear of the artillery and massing on the extreme left of the hill.

The fire of the Boers was becoming hot; but the First Battalion of the Rifles and the Irish Fusiliers, led by Colonel Gunning and Colonel Carlton, continued to climb the hill. Slowly but surely they extended along the ridge; and, after four and a half hours of artillery firing to screen them, managed to reach a wall running parallel with the ridge, about six hundred yards from the summit.

The British gained this position under cover of some fine shooting by their artillerymen, who placed shells at points where the Boers were massed, compelling them to retire. On again the determined Boers would come, only to be driven back again by the accurate shooting of the British Thirteenth and Sixty-ninth Batteries, under Major Dawkins and Major King.

The firing had almost ceased at noon and the British infantry were over the wall in a twinkling and rushing toward the plateau at the base of the top or secondary ridge. The defense made by the Boers was most determined. Again and again they poured a long fusilade fire into the British ranks, which was hotly returned in well-directed volleys by the advancing Fusiliers and Rifles.

A strong force of Boers took refuge in a cattle kraal, intending a cross fire, but the Thirteenth Battery of the British opened fire and poured in a hail of bullets which caused the Boers speedily to shift their position.

The battle had then raged six and one-half hours, when the British Sixty-ninth Battery was ordered to limber up and advance. The Battery galloped into a new position in pretty form, and was in action in a moment.

This close-range firing was so effective that the Thirteenth Battery was at once ordered up; and, after two rounds from each battery, silence reigned over the Boers' front, broken only by the whirring of Maxims, served by the Fusiliers, who had secured an excellent position to the right.

While this was going on, the two British infantry battalions continued to climb the hill; and after eight hours' desperate up-hill fighting, the Boer position was carried, and the Boers precipitately evacuated the hill.

As the Rifles and the Fusiliers gained the hill-top, the British mounted infantry were seen working round the left flank of the Boer position and getting in their rear, without any attempt on the part of the Boers to check the movement, while the bulk of the mounted British volunteers, well hidden in the plantation to the right, were ready to fall upon the retreating Boers in that direction. Occasionally the British batteries ceased firing and the infantry charged up the rocky heights, reached the summits of both peaks of Smith's Hill and of the nek.

Gallant work was done on both sides, and scores of men fell within a distance of a couple of hundred yards; but the situation soon became too hot for the Boers, who broke for their horses, which they had left at the foot of the hills on the northeast. There, however, they were received with a fusilade from the British Hussars, who had captured or stampeded all the horses.

When the battle was drawing to a close part, at least, of the Dannhauser contingent of Boers under General Erasmus, came upon the ground, as well as a detachment from a Free State contingent, which had made a forced march from the south. The main body of the Free State troops, however, remained at Biggarsberg.

A day or so after the battle it developed that the Boer plans had miscarried. They intended to attack Glencoe with three columns, aggregating about 9,000 men, but only some 6,000 men were engaged with the British, who were in about equal force.

The first column, under General Erasmus, left the Boer camp, on the Ingagane river, and halted at Hattingspruit, on the main road, between Baunhausen and Glencoe. The second column, the largest, commanded by General Lucas Meyer, made a long turn and took up a position on Smith's Hill, commanding the Glencoe camp. The third column, Free State burghers, under General Viljoen, marched from Waschbank on the railroad south of Glencoe. This was the column which destroyed railroad and telegraphic communication between Glencoe and Ladysmith.

General Joubert's plan was that General Erasmus should lure the

whole British force on the northern road toward Hattingspruit, and while the British were engaged in the apparently easy task of destroying General Erasmus' forces, Viljoen and Meyer were to attack the British flank and rear and annihilate Her Majesty's forces.

The British commander, General Symons, foresaw what was intended and took measures accordingly. The Boers lost telegraphic touch between the three columns, which proceeded regardless of time, with the result that General Meyer became engaged before the column from Hattingspruit was even in striking distance, while General Viljoen was a long way south. Thus Meyer's 4,000 men, with six guns, bore the chief brunt of the battle. Only half of General Symons' 4,000 men attacked the hill, the remainder being in position behind the camp watching events. After two and a half hours' fighting advanced detachments of the Hattingspruit column were seen lining the hill west of the camp, and a British battery behind the camp opened fire and scattered the Boers. Thus, the Hattingspruit column did not get into action, except when it came in contact with the British Hussars and mounted infantry, who were pursuing General Meyer's column.

Queen Victoria, after the battle of Glencoe, sent the following message from Balmoral to the Marquis of Landsdowne, Secretary of State for War:

"My heart is bleeding because of these dreadful losses again to-day. We have won a great success, but I fear it was very dearly bought. Would you try to convey my warmest heartfelt sympathy to the near relations of the fallen and wounded, and my admiration of the conduct of those they have lost.

"Victoria, R. I."

Thus, after more than eighteen years, the Boers and British met again in deadly struggle near Majuba Hill and Laing's Nek, but with an entirely different result. The positions, in fact, were reversed.

General Yule assumed command of the British force at Dundee after the Battle of Glencoe. The British loss was estimated at 300 men, while the losses of the Boers were believed to be about 800. No accurate estimates were obtainable at the time.

The Daily Telegraph, of London, described the battle as follows:

"When morning broke at Dundee on Talana Hill, which completely dominated the little town and camp, respectively one-half and three-quarters of a mile distant, the Boer artillery mounted on the summit

seemed to have the camp at its mercy. It was the work of only a few minutes before our troops were on the march and our batteries were in position.

"From the moment the guns opened fire the steady, cool, resistless progress of our men was a performance beyond praise.

"Without efficient artillery rifle marksmanship would have been impossible. Our guns gave splendid cover. Never did the enemy show themselves without an unerring shell fire being directed at the spot.

"In an incredibly short space of time their guns were silenced.

"Under the circumstances military critics consider our casualties were small. For full seven hours the King's Royal Rifles, the Irish Fusiliers, the Dublin Fusiliers, the Sixty-ninth and Thirteenth Field Batteries and the Eighteenth Hussars were exposed to an incessant fire, yet made a constant, unchecked advance.

"The ascent of the hill vastly exceeded that of Majuba as a military feat. The only cover was a plantation and stone wall some six hundred yards below the summit.

"Thanks to their splendid training, our men made the best possible use of the cover afforded by the hill, which runs north and south, with steep sides on the south, Smith's Nek, a saddle-back depression, connecting it with another kopje.

"From the base to the summit the front and north sides are as precipitous as a wall for six hundred yards.

"The King's Royal Rifles faced the front, the Royal Dublin Fusiliers on the right flank, with the Royal Irish Fusiliers on the left. These regiments bore the brunt of the day—bore it nobly.

"A spectator who went right through the fight to the top of the hill writes that the men were as cool as could be, and that the gallant officers led them with conspicuous gallantry.

"They had literally to creep up the sharp ascent. The moment they reached the top the Boers displayed a white flag—a towel on the end of a bamboo pole.

"The victory was won by the execution done by our shell fire, as was shown by the fact that two dozen dead were found within a few yards, besides a number of wounded.

"There were pools of blood from which the Boers had carried away as many of their wounded as they could to a neighboring farm-house.

"By a curious irony of fate a large hill named Gladstone frowned

over the scene where Majuba was more than eclipsed or avenged. The event recalls certain remarks made some four weeks ago, when the general forecasted the middle of October as a most probable date of hostilities. 'With our splendid artillery,' he said, 'if our troops are properly handled only victory is possible.'

"The Irishmen at Maritzburg are proud of the valor of their countrymen and propose to present them with an address on their return from the front.

"The Boers failed at every point. Their old mobility and marksmanship were especially wanting."

The following was the British official report of the battle:

"This from Glencoe: 'We were attacked this morning at daylight by a force roughly estimated at 4,000. They had placed four or five guns in position on a hill 5,400 yards east of our camp, and they fired plugged shells. Their artillery did no damage.

"'Our infantry formed for attack, and we got our guns into position. After the position of the Boers had been shelled our infantry advanced to the attack, and, after a hard fight, lasting until 1:30 P. M., an almost inaccessible position was taken, the Boers retiring eastward. All the Boer guns have been captured. We can see our soldiers at the top of the hill. Our cavalry and artillery are still out.

"'General Symons is severely wounded. Our losses are heavy. They will be telegraphed as soon as possible.'"

Major-General Sir William Penn Symons, who eventually died a prisoner in the hands of the Boers at Dundee, was born in 1843 and entered the British Army in 1863. At the opening of the Zulu war, in 1878, he had just become a captain. Six years later he, owing to his place on the army list, became Brevet-Colonel. Symons attracted the attention of Lord Roberts, then in command of the Madras Army, through his ideas concerning the employment of the rifle by mounted troops and his theories on rifle practice, which was a hobby with Lord Roberts. When the Burmese war broke out in 1885 Colonel Symons went with the expedition, first as staff officer, and then as commandant of the mounted infantry. His services continued in Burmah and beyond. He was Brigadier-General in the Chin field force; commanded the column from Burmah in the Chin Lushai expedition; was in the Waziristan expedition, and two years ago was actively engaged in the

campaign on the northwest Indian frontier, at first with a brigade in the Tochi field force, and then with a division in the Tirah expedition.

For services in this expedition General Symons was decorated Knight Commander of the Bath. He was described as calm, clear-headed, resolute, prompt, and vigorous in following up an advantage, tenacious and unyielding when hard pressed. His selection as a commander of the Natal troops was principally owing to his experience with mounted rifles, for the country in which he had been operating was mountainous, and unsuited either for the regular infantry or cavalry.

In the House of Commons, October 20, the following telegram from General Yule, in command at Glencoe, was read:

"I regret to report that General Symons is mortally wounded. Other casualties will follow. The important success to-day is due to General Symons' great courage and fine generalship and to the gallant example and confidence he gave to the troops under his command."

After this announcement all the members uncovered their heads (British Members of Parliament wear their hats in the House) and the debate was stopped.

A vote of £10,000,000 for the war expenses was then carried, the result being announced as 271 for and 32 against the credit.

The House then adjourned.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE BATTLE OF ELANDSLAAGTE.

The next engagement of any importance between the Boers and British was the Battle of Elandslaagte, fought by General French, under General White, to prevent the Boers from cutting off the retreat of General Yule from Glencoe, where after the battle there the British were so hard pressed that they evacuated the place at night.

During the morning of October 21 General French took the Imperial Light Horse, the Naval Volunteer Artillery, with six guns, and four companies of the Manchester Regiment, in an armored train and made reconnoissance to Elandslaagte Station.

The cavalry and artillery arrived on a plateau overlooking the dip in which the station is situated. The Boers were taken unawares and a detachment of their mounted men left the station and its environs, going in the direction of a ridge about 2,000 yards distant on the opposite side of the valley. The Natal Battery then went in action, exploding two shells in the station buildings.

When the artillery fire had disclosed the British position on the plateau, the Boers opened an accurate fire with two guns from entrenched works on the ridge to which the mounted Boers had galloped. The Boer gunners evidently had the range marked, for shells fell around the British battery in action, crippling one ammunition wagon. The seven-pounders of the Volunteer artillery were unable to return this fire, the range being 4,500 yards, so General French withdrew slowly, abandoning the crippled wagon.

As the battery withdrew the Boers fired their guns on the armored train, from which the infantry had detrained. The whole reconnoissance then withdrew with the train for five miles, General French having wired for supports. A few of the mounted Boers attempted to cut the train off, but were out-manoeuvred.

British re-inforcements arrived at midday, and their arrival precipitated a fierce engagement, which lasted two and a half hours, the Boers being driven from their position.

At about 11 A. M. a battery of British artillery and a portion of the Fifth Dragoon Guards arrived, having come out from Ladysmith

with double teams. Shortly afterwards another train arrived with more infantry from Sir George White.

The Boer force consisted mainly of two commandos, under Kock and De Meellion, who had two Maxim-Nordenfelt guns and two Maxims. They had marched right down the Biggarsberg Pass, having crossed into Natal by Botha's Pass, and had met no British patrol at all before occupying Elandslaagte. They set themselves to intrench the end of the spur covering the railway and coalfields from the west.

Therefore General French determined to await reinforcements.

While his force with the trains retired to Modder's Spruit, the Boer scouts were seen circling the hills on the left. Following the British retirement the Boers became bolder, firing into the Volunteer Light Horse, which covered the party. A troop of the latter, however, dislodged the Boers.

After being reinforced by the Devons and the Gordons, General French decided to advance. Then a second field-battery and the Fifth Lancers arrived. The scouts at 3 o'clock, when the Fifth Dragoons began to move along the road by which the British force had advanced in the morning, reported that the Boers were in force on the range on the left.

These Boers suddenly opened Maxim fire on the extended Dragoon Guards at short range. The fire was ineffective and the British artillery battery shelled them out. They were reported to be a party of Free State Boers, attracted by the early morning's firing. The whole of the British infantry under General Ian Hamilton, who fought at Majuba Hill, detrained a mile north of Modder's Spruit.

The Boers had intrenched and laagered on the northern edge of a range running at right angles to the railway. The height of the highest spot was about 800 feet above the level of the permanent way. The range itself is a succession of hillocks, one commanding another so that when viewed from the flank they looked something like the teeth of a saw. To the front and on the flanks of this position stretched the rolling veldt, without any considerable cover, for at least 5,000 yards. From Modder's Spruit to the front of the Boers' position lay an undulating five-mile plain, divided by a long shoulder of hill about 4,000 yards' range from the Boers' position.

Soon after three o'clock a squadron of the Fifth Lancers and of the Imperial Light Horse were sent to clear this shoulder for occupation

by infantry, the latter arm marching upon it from the vicinity of Modder's Spruit. The Imperial Light Horse and Lancers speedily gained possession, the Boers' scouts falling back.

The British infantry advanced steadily in extended order, the Manchesters leading, followed by the Devons and Gordon Highlanders, of Dargai Heights and Majuba Hill fame. It was a long and slow march, and it was nearly four o'clock before the infantry could extend along the shoulder of the hill. The Manchesters took the right of the line, and the Devons the left, the Gordons coming up in support. A covering party of the Fifth Lancers and Imperial Light Horse were on the right. When the British Infantry was well on the hill the Boers opened fire and shelled the crest accurately. At four o'clock the first British battery came into action, between the Devons and the Manchesters. The Boers returned the fire with vigor. Their range was excellent, and, though in the first place they only remained in action six minutes, they upset an ammunition wagon and caused several casualties, especially to horses.

While this was going on clouds of the fleeing Boers were seen, as it appeared, leaving the field and escaping on the right of the British advance. This retreat of the mounted Boers was, however, only a ruse by which the Boers hoped to draw off part of the attacking party, themselves galloping back to a position on the reverse of the hill.

After the Boer guns had ceased firing, the British artillery, then having two batteries in action, began to prepare for the infantry assault, bursting shrapnel all along the Boer position.

Clouds gathered behind the hills and made an ominous background, against which the lurid light of the bursting shells showed as if it were already night. It was evident that the British attack must be pressed home before night, so, with half an hour's preparation, the infantry received orders to advance.

To the Devons was given the task of delivering a semi-frontal attack with the Manchesters, supported by the Gordons on the right flank, for which they had to make a wide detour. This was at half-past four. Rain was then falling.

When the British infantry attack began the Boer guns came into position and shelled the advancing lines of the Devons, who were now stolidly pushing across the open, cutting the wire fences that impeded them. They were extended as much as possible, this being the only

method by which the men could face the Mauser and Maxim fire. Nothing could have been finer than the undaunted front of this battalion edging forward against the fire of modern arms.

The Gordons, skirting the batteries in action, marched steadily on in columns of companies, until the boulder neck of the Boer ridge was reached. This was about three-quarters of a mile from the position of the Boer guns. In front of the Highlanders were three successive kopjes, or rather ridges, running diagonally across the flat top of the hill. Each was commanded by that behind it, and the hill was one mass of the typical boulders of the country. If the men wavered and stuck under cover during the terrible advance, the British officers sacrificed themselves to furnish an example.

The Boers stood to their positions with a grim persistency which was magnificent, and their stand at the last kopje above their camp and laager was one of the finest pieces of fighting recorded in modern wars. In spite of the united attack of the storming regiments, training their guns at point-blank range and discharging the magazines, they checked the advance for half an hour.

A correspondent who went up the hill with the British troops described the charge as follows:

"Our bugles rang out the advance and other buglers took up the call. Fixed bayonets gleamed amid the boulders through the fading light, and the men sprang up to the well-known notes—sprang up to fall like rabbits.

"Again and again sounded the call. Somehow I found myself with a company of the Devons. A fence stopped us. We fell or threw ourselves over it. Still sounded the call.

"The Highlanders were shouting above. Cheering madly; we were over a breastwork, and passed a quick-firing gun still smoking. A Dutchman at my feet was calling for mercy. We were in—were there. Some one shouted, 'Remember Majuba!' Over the brow there was the sound of skirling pipes. The main kopje was taken.

"There was still firing below. With 'Majuba' still on their lips, our men dashed forward to carry the laager with bayonets. The officers held them back, and a voice in command said, 'Cease fire.'

"At about 6:15 P. M. a bayonet charge was sounded as the roar of artillery on both sides suddenly ceased, and the British, Devonshires leading, made a brilliant dash against the main body of the Boers,

facing a fearful fire. Twice the British were checked by the terrible fusilade. Once the advance wavered for a moment; but then, with ringing cheers, the British force hurled itself forward and swept over the kopjes, bayoneting the broken Boers in all directions.

"The Boers, overwhelmed and astounded, paused, then retreated, then raised the white flag and surrendered. Two or three hundred broke and ran, pursued by the Fifth Lancers, who charged through and through them.

"Again the bugle rang out, and a white handkerchief fluttered at the end of a rifle. The Boers had surrendered, but the main remnant were pouring over the hillside, where our cavalry pounced upon them.

"It was half-past six. I had just time to look round the laager below the hillside, strewn with dead and wounded, the Dutch and German gunners being distinguishable by their brown uniform. They had fought their guns splendidly. Two of their guns I saw with 'Maxim-Nordenfelt' and the direction in English on the carriages. I had to leave at once, as it was already night and we were twenty miles from the telegraph.

"At midnight the hospital-train came back carrying ninety of our wounded, but I am afraid the total will be double that. This must have been a terrible night. Many of the wounded could not have been found till the morning. Glencoe was a sanguinary engagement, and this was in every respect equal to it in bloodshed, but, though the price was high, the defeat was absolutely crushing, and the moral effect will now be felt all through the Republics.

"General French was in command throughout. Our strength was about 3,200. Sir George White was present during the engagement. General Ian Hamilton commanded the Infantry."

General Jan Kock, the Boer commander, and Colonel Schiel, the German officer commanding the Boer artillery and organizer of the German Corps, were among the prisoners captured by the British at the Battle of Elandslaagte. They were both wounded and General Kock, subsequently, died in a British hospital at Ladysmith.

The British lost about 250 men killed and wounded and the Boers were estimated to have lost about 800 men in killed, wounded and prisoners. The Boers, however, said the figures, so far as they were concerned, were greatly exaggerated.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE DUNDEE RETREAT AND FIGHT AT REITFONTEIN.

The retreat of General Yule, who succeeded General Symons in command of the British forces at Glencoe and Dundee, after the wounding of the latter, was not the dignified movement the British official dispatches made it out to be. On the contrary, it was a most hurried retirement in dead of night. He was compelled to leave all his wounded at Dundee, where General Symons subsequently died, a prisoner in the hands of the Boers.

The official dispatch announcing the arrival of Yule's column at Ladysmith read:

"Ladysmith, Oct. 26.—12:40 P. M.—General Yule's column has just marched in here after a very hard march during a night of exceptionally heavy rain. The men, though done up, are in good spirits and only want a rest. The enemy did not molest them."

This, however, did not tell the real story of the retreat.

From facts which leaked out later it was shown that, after the battle of Glencoe, also referred to as the Battle of Dundee, and the Battle of Talana Hill, the British imagined they would not be molested for several days. But, they had not learned to appreciate the Boers as fighters and strategists. The British had also greatly overestimated their victory over the Boers near Glencoe, October 20, and they soon afterwards received news of the approach of the main column of Boers, under the command of General Joubert. Having a much inferior force at his disposal, General Yule recognized the impossibility of defending both Dundee and Glencoe, and notified General White, at Ladysmith, of the situation and ordered the evacuation of Dundee. The site of the British camp was also changed, in anticipation of an attack on Dundee, which began at daybreak, October 22, with long-range firing by the Boer guns, whose forty-pounder dropped shells from the Impatie Mountains in and around the town. Thereupon the British retreated on Glencoe, and, later, they were ordered to fall back on Ladysmith. General Yule was also notified that a column had been sent to Elandslaagte to protect his retreat, which brought on the Battle of Elandslaagte, already chronicled. The British left Glencoe under

fire, but their precarious situation was seemingly unknown to the Boers. The Boers shelled the Glencoe camp all day October 22 and kept the British busy skirmishing and removing their transport wagons out of range. Luckily, a heavy rain fell during the night. But, during the retreat there were many anxious moments, especially when the British passed through Van Londeer's Pass, six miles long, on their way to Biggarsberg. It was a dangerous defile, which about fifty men could have held against an army. It was three o'clock in the morning, October 24, when the British were through this pass. The troops were almost exhausted, but not a murmur, it was said, escaped them. It took the column twenty-four hours to cover the last sixteen miles and many of the troopers had then been thirty-six hours in the saddle. The troops lost their kits during the retreat.

There was a panic at Dundee when the retreat of the British became known. The inhabitants of the place fled on foot and on horseback and hundreds of men, women and children wandered throughout the first night, in the pouring rain, over the veldt. Some of them sought refuge in the Kaffir kraals and others found shelter at Rowan's Farm, Umsinga, Greytown and Pietermaritzburg. The Boers, the next morning, swarmed over the hills near Dundee and Glencoe and commenced shelling the hospital. But a party with a flag of truce went towards the nearest Boer position and General Erasmus afterwards expressed regret for shelling the place, saying he had mistaken the Indian hospital attendants for British soldiers.

At ten o'clock that day the Boer flag was hoisted over the courthouse, and the inhabitants of Dundee who had remained in the town were informed that they would not be molested. But there were some riotous scenes. Stores were broken into and looted and all the liquor obtainable was freely used. The Boers, it was added, laid hands on everything portable, including ladies' clothing, parasols, bicycles, etc., and stored the plunder temporarily in their tents.

An interesting incident of the Battle of Glencoe came to light at about this time. It seems that when the fire of the British guns became too hot eight Boers ran out of cover and, standing together, coolly opened fire at the Imperial Light Horse, with the evident purpose of drawing the latter's fire while their comrades retired. Seven of these brave Boers were killed.

General Yule was promoted to the rank of Major-General for extricating his troops from their precarious position at Glencoe.

A large force of Free State Boers, October 23, broke the line between Ladysmith and Elandslaagte, and were engaged, October 24, by a strong force of British infantry and cavalry, which moved out of Ladysmith at daybreak. The Boers were found strongly posted on a ridge six miles east of Ladysmith. The ridge sloped into a long plain, south of which was a knoll. Over the knoll the Kaffir Kraal railroad line ran west and east across the middle of the plain. The British artillery on the knoll was shelled in the early morning by the Boers, the first shot dropping on a gun carriage; but it only killed a horse.

A strong British cavalry force was then sent eastwards along the Elandslaagte road parallel to the south of the railway. The artillery and infantry in skirmishing order crossed the railway. On the west side of the plain the infantry force lay under cover of the railway embankment.

The British cavalry then turned northwest to attack the flank of the Boer position, but was met by a heavy fire and halted. Meanwhile the British artillery pounded the ridge and silenced the Boer artillery, which, though accurate, did little damage. At 10 o'clock the cannonading was very heavy, and a severe rifle engagement was in progress on the western slope of the hills. The British artillery fire was accurate, and by 1 o'clock had almost silenced the riflemen on the edge of the ridges.

The Boers then retreated northward, but the British Lancers cut off their horses. The Boer rout was general by 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

One account of the engagement at Reitfontein said the Boers opened fire at 1,200 yards, hitting several of the British soldiers. The Boers then occupied strong positions along the ridges. The British guns shelled them out of the first ridge and then the infantry advanced. Over thirty British soldiers dropped in the first 200 yards. Then General White ordered an attack on the rear, and, eventually, the Boers retired.

On the other flank the Natal Carbineers and the Imperial Light Horse had a rifle duel with a strong body of Boers, who were well covered. The British forces were said to have shot better than the Boers and they carried the ridge, but found a level plateau beyond it,

with the Boers occupying another ridge. The Natal Volunteers rushed the Boers again and drove them back to their main position, which the British raked with shells.

Commandant General Joubert's account of the fight at Reitfontein said it lasted seven hours and that six burghers were killed and nine wounded. The British, he added, then retired to Ladysmith.

The British official account of the battle dated October 25, was as follows:

"Yesterday, Sir George White, having ascertained by a previous reconnaissance that the Free State forces had moved eastward from Bester's Station, and were attempting to gain the road from Ladysmith to the north, moved out in the direction of Elandslaagte, with the Fifth Lancers, Nineteenth Hussars, Imperial Light Horse, Natal Mounted Volunteers, two field batteries, one mountain battery, and a brigade of infantry.

"The enemy posted a battery two miles south of Modderspruit and opened with infantry fire at long range on the British advance guard, consisting of the Nineteenth Hussars. This was followed by artillery fire directed with considerable accuracy against the British guns.

"An action lasting six hours ensued at Reitfontein Farm, and the enemy were driven from the hills commanding the roads. General White's object being accomplished, the column returned to Ladysmith.

"The enemy is believed to have suffered. Several Boers own officially that they lost over 100 killed at Elandslaagte. Three hundred prisoners, wounded and unwounded, are in the hands of the British, including several of high position. The Transvaal force defeated at Elandslaagte was the Johannesburg corps.

"In the action at Elandslaagte, October 21, the Johannesburg force, with a detachment of the German Corps, was completely broken up."

This engagement was known as the Battle of Reitfontein. No accurate account of the loss on either side was obtainable. The object of General White in this engagement was, as at Elandslaagte, to prevent the Boers from cutting off the retreat of General Yule on Ladysmith.

General Buller, the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in South Africa, arrived at Cape Town, October 31, and received an enthusiastic welcome.

The British Secretary of State for War, the Marquis of Lansdowne,



ZULUS SERVING AS POLICE IN NATAL.



CITY AND SUBURBAN GOLD MINE NEAR JOHANNESBURG.



SEARCHING TABLES AT DE BEERS DIAMOND MINES, KIMBERLEY.

received, October 26, the following message from Queen Victoria, dated that day from Balmoral Castle:

My heart bleeds for these dreadful losses again to-day. It is a great success, but I fear very dearly bought. Would you convey my warmest and heartfelt sympathy with the near relations of the fallen and wounded and my admiration of the conduct of those they have lost?

“V. R. I.”

General Sir William Penn Symons, K. C. B., who died of his wound at Dundee, was born in Cornwall, July 17, 1843. He entered the army in 1863, was made a colonel in 1887, served in the Zulu war in 1879, and for his gallantry received a medal and clasp. Later he served in Burmah and India, winning another medal and clasp.

Captain Hardy, of the Eighteenth Hussars, who escaped, furnished, some time later, an account of the capture of a troop of Hussars, by the Boers, after the Battle of Glencoe. He said:

“After the battle at Glencoe, three squadrons of the Eighteenth Hussars, with a Maxim, a company of the Dublin Fusiliers and a detachment of mounted infantry, Colonel Moller commanding, kept under cover of a ridge north of the camp and at half-past six o'clock in the evening moved down toward Sand Spruit.

“On reaching the open the British force was shelled by the enemy, but without casualties. Colonel Moller led his men around Talana Hill, in a southeasterly direction, across Vants' Drift road, captured several Boers, and saw the Boer ambulances retiring. Then, with Squadron B, of the Hussars, the Maxim, and the mounted infantry, he crossed the Dundee-Vryheid Railway and approached a strong force of the enemy, who opened a hot fire, wounding Lieutenant Lachlan.

“Our cavalry retreated across Vant's Drift, the Boers pressing. Colonel Moller held the ridge for some time, but on the enemy enveloping his right, he fell back across the Spruit. The Maxim stuck in a water hole, Lieutenant Cape was wounded, three of the detachment were killed, and the horses of Major Greville and Captain Pollock were shot under them.

“The force finally reformed on a ridge to the north, which was held for some time. While I was attending Lieutenant Crun, who had been wounded, Colonel Moller's force retired into a defile, apparently intend-

ing to return to camp around Impatie Mountain, but it was not seen afterward."

The British soldiers captured at the Battle of Glencoe were escorted on board a train at Dannhauser. They filled ten cars. The officers traveled first-class, and a separate car was provided for two wounded officers.

A large crowd assembled at the railroad station at Pretoria, October 27, to witness their arrival, but there was no demonstration. When the prisoners alighted they were received with silence upon the part of the crowd.

The British wounded were taken to a hospital while the other officers and men were marched to the race course, escorted by mounted burghers, and were encamped on the spot where Jameson's troopers had been confined.

The British officers captured were Lieutenant-Colonel Moller, Major Greville and Captain Pollock of the Eighteenth Hussars, and Captain Lonsdale, Lieutenants Le Meseurier, Garvice, Grimshaw, Majendie and Shore of the Dublin Fusiliers. They were quartered in a building apart from the men. On giving their parole they were allowed the freedom of the enclosure.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE BATTLE OF NICHOLSON'S NEK.

The British War Office, shortly before midnight, November 1, issued the following notice:

"The Governor of Natal has informed the Colonial Office that telegraphic communication with Ladysmith has been interrupted since 2:30 P. M., to-day."

From that hour the complete investment of Ladysmith, with a British garrison of about 12,000 men, was dated, and the siege was destined to last for some time. But, previous to this, the British and Boers met again in battle, October 30, the engagement being referred to as the Battle of Nicholson's Nek. It was a great disaster to the British arms. Nearly one thousand British troops were captured by the Boers, and many were slain or wounded. The British Empire may be said to have staggered under the blow. Not since July, 1880, when a brigade under the command of General Burrows was cut to pieces by the Afghans in the Maiwand Pass, had the British experienced such a defeat. The Empire was plunged in grief and the scenes about the War Office, London, after the news became known, were heartrending. The streets about the building were packed with relatives and friends of the missing soldiers, who eagerly scanned every bulletin posted, hoping to see that the name of some dear one was not included in the list of killed, wounded or captured.

General White's official report of the disaster was as follows:

"Ladysmith, October 31, 7:50 P. M.

"I took out from Ladysmith a brigade of mounted troops, two brigade divisions Royal Artillery, Natal Field Battery, and two brigades of infantry to reconnoitre in force the enemy's main position to the north, and if opportunity should offer, to capture the hill behind Farquhar's Farm, which had on the previous day been held in strength by the enemy.

"In connection with this advance, a column, consisting of the Tenth Mountain Battery, four and a half companies of the Gloucesters, and six companies of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, the whole under Lieutenant-

Colonel Carleton, with Major Adye, Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, as staff officer, was dispatched at 11 P. M., on the 29th inst., to march by night up Bell's Spruit and seize Nicholson's Nek, or some position near Nicholson's Nek, thus turning the enemy's right flank.

"The main advance was successfully carried out, the objective of the attack being found evacuated, and artillery duel between our field batteries and the enemy's guns of position and Maxims is understood to have caused heavy loss to the enemy.

"Reconnaissance forced the enemy to fully disclose his position, and, after a strong counter attack on our right infantry brigade and cavalry had been repulsed, the troops were slowly withdrawn to camp, pickets being left in observation.

"Late in the engagement the naval contingent, under Captain Lambton, of Her Majesty's ship Powerful, came into action, and silenced with extremely accurate fire the enemy's guns of position.

"The circumstances which attended the movements of Colonel Carleton's column are not yet fully known, but from the reports received the column appears to have carried out the night march unmolested until within two miles of Nicholson's Nek.

"At this point two boulders rolled from the hill, and a few rifle shots stampeded the infantry ammunition mules; the stampede spread to the battery mules, which broke loose from their leaders and got away with practically the whole gun equipment.

"The greater portion of the regimental small arms and ammunition reserve was similarly lost.

"The infantry battalions, however, fixed bayonets, and accompanied by the personnel of the battery, seized a hill on the left of the road two miles from the Nek with but little opposition. There they remained unmolested till dawn, the time being occupied in organizing defense of the hill and constructing stone sangars and walls as cover from fire.

"At dawn a skirmishing attack on our position was commenced by the enemy, but made no way until 9:30 A. M., when strong reinforcements enabled them to push the attack with great energy.

"The fire became very searching, and two companies of the Gloucesters, in an advanced position, were ordered to fall back.

"The enemy then pressed to short range, the losses on our side becoming very numerous.

"At 3 P. M. our ammunition was practically exhausted. The position was captured, and the survivors of the column fell into the enemy's hands.

"The enemy treated our wounded with great humanity, General Joubert at once dispatching a letter to me offering safe conduct to doctors and ambulance to remove wounded.

"Medical officers and parties to render first aid to the wounded were dispatched to the scene of action from Ladysmith last night, and an ambulance was sent at dawn this morning.

"The want of success of the column was due to the misfortune of the mules stampeding and consequent loss of guns and small arm ammunition reserve.

"Official list of casualties and prisoners will be reported shortly. The latter are understood to have been sent by rail to Pretoria.

"The security of Ladysmith is in no way affected."

The result of the Boer victory was the circulation from different continent capitals of all sorts of rumors of additional British defeats, including a report of the capitulation of the British army at Ladysmith.

After the first shock was over, the Government and people of Great Britain met the situation calmly and determinedly. More reserves were called out, more ships were commissioned and preparations were made to send an additional 10,000 men to South Africa.

The British, before surrendering, it appears, defended themselves until their ammunition was exhausted.

Mr. Bennett Burleigh, the war correspondent of the London Daily Telegraph, described this battle in the following manner:

"Ladysmith, Monday night, October 30, via Pietermaritzburg, Tuesday Afternoon.—To-day's battle at Ladysmith was a disappointing action, as the object, which was to roll back the Free Staters, was not achieved. Yet, our soldiers, individually, showed themselves fully a match for the Boers, both in shooting ability and pluck, although they were faced by double their own numbers, posted upon rough ground which had been previously prepared for defense and to resist a cannonade.

"The enemy had been drawing their coils closer around on the west, north and east sides of the town, their forces being composed of the Free Staters, General Joubert's column, and that of Lucas

Meyer. General White's plan included fighting three simultaneous actions.

"On the night of Sunday to Monday, before daybreak, our troops marched out a distance of several miles from camp, and succeeded in securing certain points unseen by the enemy, the advantage being thus on our side. Considering the nature of the subsequent contests, our losses must be regarded as relatively light.

"The enemy began battle at ten minutes past five o'clock in the morning by firing their 40-pounder guns from a ridge, situated about four miles out east of the railway, and dropping shells into the town. The missiles luckily proved almost harmless.

"The action soon became general, and our left, center and right engaged the Boer positions. At first our batteries seemed unable to quite silence the Boer artillery, which fought with indomitable energy and pluck, the British gunners having to contend with the difficulty of being on low ground.

"General White's right and center gained some initial successes, but the enemy arrived in great force, and our right and left were attacked with tremendous vigor.

"Our left became partially hemmed in, and the right was driven in steadily. General retirement began at about eleven in the forenoon, and was executed everywhere with coolness.

"It was a serious misfortune to us that the Powerful's blue jackets, with their big guns, were not summoned sooner, as the result of the engagement would have been different. Their third shot with a 12-pounder, fired at one o'clock in the afternoon, silenced the Boer 40-pounder.

"It is probable that the town will be invested by the enemy, but it is quite safe.

"Scouting operations which were carried out on Saturday disclosed the fact that several of the enemy's laagers, including that of General Lucas Meyer's column, from Dundee, lay behind Lombard's and Bulwan Kops to the number of seven thousand men, with two batteries.

"The Free Staters and Joubert's forces had joined hands to the south of Modner's Spruit and west of the railway. Their central laager was well selected from a tactical point of view, being upon rough hills, south of Matawan's Hook.

"The enemy advanced in lines over a wide circuit of more than ten

miles, extending from west of Acton Homés to east of Bulwan. General White detailed Major Adye with a mountain battery of seven-pounders and part of the Royal Irish Fusiliers and the Gloucestershire regiment to hold the neck of the hills north of the old camp, thus menacing the Free Staters' line of retreat, and securing Ladysmith from a westerly attack.

"General Sir Archibald Hunter, with Colonel Grimwood, two batteries of artillery, the Leistershire and Liverpool regiments and the First and Second battalions of the rifle brigade, were sent to operate against Lucas Meyer.

"In passing from Lombard's and Bulwan Kops, unluckily one battery and the Liverpools lost their direction in advancing. They retraced their steps, but were not able to render assistance in the action until late.

"The remaining infantry brigade, Colonel Ian Hamilton's, comprising the Gordon Highlanders, the Devonshire regiment, the Manchester regiment and the Fourth battalion of the rifle brigade, and Colonel Howard's consisting of the First and Second battalions of the King's Royal Rifles, the Dublin Fusiliers and six field batteries, were sent to the center on the Newcastle roadway.

"Colonel Howard's brigade, being on the right, halted in the darkness behind a low kopje to the right of the roadway, about two and a half miles out, the guns of Howard's men making a detour by the right in order to turn what was thought to be the Boers' left.

"General White sought to thrust forward his center, while Major Adye, on the left, and Colonel Grimwood, on the right, held the opposed commanders in check.

"Major Adye, going on along Walker's Hook road, found a big force of Free Staters. The fighting soon became desperate. An exposed kopje, which was occupied, was at an early hour assailed on all sides, and their ammunition mules, with the Kaffir drivers, stampeded.

"Much of the same thing occurred to Grimwood's column, on the Bulwan side. The ammunition was lost, but our infantry quite held their own.

"Practically three actions were raging simultaneously. General White was with his center, where an artillery duel was proceeding from twenty minutes after five until half-past six.

"So adroitly had our soldiers occupied their positions that the enemy had no idea where the troops securely lay.

"The boom of the big guns reverberating along the lines, with screech and crash of shells, drowned every other sound.

"At about seven o'clock our right and center advanced to turn the Boer left. Pressing on through the bush of the valley, they crumpled up the enemy, occupying the low kopjes on the east side of the railway.

"All went well for a time, our troops gradually wheeling round toward the northern slopes of the Tintwa Inyoni ridges.

"The Boer leaders upon the hills for hours courageously directed the men and guns, and to relieve the pressure mounted Boers streamed with their laagers to attack Major Adye's column and regain the ground they had lost in the center. They took with them, as did the enemy engaged in other parts of the fight, some field batteries of the small Maxim type.

"In the meantime their cannon barked snappishly at our troops, with only the briefest interludes. It was a ding-dong affair until 10 o'clock in the morning."

The British casualties, outside of those who were killed or wounded before the left wing surrendered, were sixty officers and men killed and 240 officers and men wounded, a total of 300. The Boer loss was comparatively small.

From that time on very little news was obtained from Ladysmith, though there were "Kaffirgrams," or reports brought by Kaffirs, innumerable, in which the British were repeatedly pictured as slaughtering thousands of Boers. It is certain, however, that the 4.7-inch guns of the Naval Brigade at Ladysmith, mounted on a newly-invented platform, which enabled them to be transported and used as field guns, did great service, though the Boers, using the most modern Creusot 40-pounders, gave the British a lot of trouble even before the complete investment of Ladysmith.

General Joubert, October 25, in response to an inquiry from General White as to the condition of General Symons, sent the following characteristic reply:

"I must express my sympathy. General Symons, unfortunately, was badly wounded, and died. He was buried yesterday.

"I trust the great God will speedily bring to a close this unfortunate state of affairs, brought about by unscrupulous speculators and capitalists, who went to the Transvaal to obtain wealth, and, in order to further their own interests, misled others and brought about this shameful state of warfare over all South Africa, in which so many valuable lives have been and are being sacrificed, as instance General Symons and others.

"I express my sympathy to Lady Symons in the loss of her husband."

Here, perhaps, we may be allowed to give a sketch of the great Boer commander.

Petrus Jacobus Joubert, Commandant-General of the Transvaal's forces and Vice-President of the Transvaal Republic, is a great-great-grandson of Pierre Joubert, one of the Huguenots who, because of their religious belief, were obliged to leave their homes and friends, and to seek refuge from persecution in flight to South Africa, where they could serve their God in freedom.

In the Transvaal Joubert is known as "Sliem Peit"—"Craft Peter." Born at Congo, in the Cape Colony, three years before Queen Victoria ascended the throne, he early endured the hardship of battling alone with the world. After making a little money by trading, he became a stock farmer in the Wakkerstroom district of the Transvaal.

In due course of time he became a member of the Volksraad, and before he had reached middle age had become wealthy by practicing as a law agent.

When the British annexed the Transvaal Joubert was President Kruger's companion on the mission to London to seek retrocession. The failure of that mission convinced the Boers that to regain their independence they must fight. On the war breaking out, Joubert was put in chief command of the Boer forces, and to him was due the skilful tactical use of the Boers' guerrilla methods, which proved so effective against the old world methods of fighting employed by Sir George Colley and his soldiers. Since then Joubert's power in the Transvaal has been second only to that of Kruger. The night before Laing's Nek Joubert wrote, in reply to a letter from General Colley that the Boers would favor a South African confederation, and would hoist the British flag once a year if the republic were restored under the Queen's

patronage. In the time which preceded Sir Charles Warren's expedition Joubert resigned office in protest against "a Government which has deliberately broken faith with England, and violated the Convention by annexing Montsioa's territory." When contesting the Presidentialship with President Kruger in 1888, Joubert said: "I fought against the English for our liberty, but I have now, as I had then, no ill-feeling against them. I would fight with the English against any other power, and if Germany were to make any attempt on the Transvaal I would say to England, 'Take us and make us yours again, rather than let us fall into German hands.'"

It has recently been found out, however, that he sent Lobengula, when that King was on his throne, a letter by no means flattering to the English. General Joubert, in 1894, issued a manifesto warning burghers against trekking to Mashonaland. In May last General Joubert made a notable proposal to give any respectable and honest Outlander the franchise after "three or four years" of registration, on taking a simple oath of allegiance.

Sir Redver Henry Buller, the British Commander in South Africa, was born in 1839, and was promoted Lieutenant-General in 1891. He served in China, in the Red River expedition, the Ashanti war, the Kaffir war and the Zulu war. He was Under Secretary for Ireland in 1887, and was appointed Adjutant General of the British forces in 1890. An English writer recently furnished the following character sketch of General Buller:

"Self-confidence is an almost indispensable qualification in the soldier called to high command. It stands only second to that 'cool head' without which generalship is naught. And of self-confidence, Sir Redver Buller has, perhaps, more than his fair share. He believes in himself most thoroughly, knows better generally than anybody else, and sticks positively to his own opinion in opposition to that of all the world. An amusing story is told of an incident in the last Nile campaign which illustrates this. He was on board a river steamer, descending some 'bad water' in one of the higher cataracts, and got into a discussion with Lord Charles Beresford as to the proper channel that should be taken. Each obstinately defended his own course, but in the end that which Buller recommended was adopted, with the result

that the steamer got through without accident. 'You see, I was right,' cried Sir Redver; 'mine was the proper channel.'

"'That was mine, too,' coolly replied Lord Charles. 'I only recommended the other because I knew you would go against whatever I said.'

"But Sir Redver Buller's self-confidence is based often on very remarkable knowledge, and in matters quite beyond the circuit of his own profession. He is a man deeply read, and of such good parts that he soon masters a subject very thoroughly. He has been met in a mixed company of experts, one in finance, another in telegraphy, a third in ballooning, and has not only continued to hold his own, but in more than one case to put the others right. Whatever he takes up he carries through with the same dogged persistence that won him approval as an army staff officer."

CHAPTER XLVII.

THREATENED BRITISH GARRISONS.

When Ladysmith was invested by the Boers, Kimberley, Mafeking and other places, so far as the outside world could judge from the fragmentary news by "Kaffirgrams" and other such sources, were having an equally hard time of it, and, as in the case of Ladysmith, echoes of real or fancied British victories at Mafeking and elsewhere were telegraphed from many parts of Cape Colony.

Mafeking is a little town on the Bechuanaland railway, about eight miles from the Transvaal border, 875 miles from Cape Town. It has a cricket ground, and a race course, a "Surrey Hotel," and others, English, Dutch and Wesleyan churches, and is the headquarters of the Bechuanaland border police. From Mafeking carts run regularly in times of peace from the Malmani gold fields and the Marico Valley, where some of the most fruitful Dutch farms are to be found. From this neighborhood Mafeking ordinarily draws considerable supplies, and even its water comes chiefly from the springs at Rooi Grond, in the Transvaal territory. Mafeking was in the hands of Colonel Baden-Powell's force, enlisted in Cape Colony itself, and although it is merely a town on an open plain, with nothing but trenches for defense, it will probably render a good account of itself in any operation General Cronje may undertake to reduce it.

Vryburg, about a hundred miles south of Mafeking on the railway to Cape Town, was the capital of British Bechuanaland until that colony was incorporated with the Cape. The country around is undulating, but very bare and sandy, and Vryburg itself is by no means an attractive town, although when it was the northern terminus of the railway it did considerable trade with wagons coming from the interior. It has two or three thousand inhabitants and a number of Government buildings of an unpretentious character, including a hospital.

Kimberley, fully referred to elsewhere, is 647 miles from Cape Town, and about 230 miles south of Mafeking on the railway. At the last census its population was about 29,000, of whom rather less than one-half are white. It has a number of hotels, as well as a hospital and a sanatorium, a public library containing one of the best collections of

books in South Africa, a club, a Masonic temple, a park with cricket and football fields; Anglican, Wesleyan, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic churches; trams, cabs and a couple of daily newspapers—the Daily Independent and the Diamond Fields' Advertiser. A short distance away is Beaconsfield, practically a suburb, with a population of 10,000, half whites, around the mines of Du Toit's Pan and Bultfontein.

Mudder River, Hope Town and Orange River are small places on the railway between Kimberley and the junction of the lines which run south to Cape Town and Port Elizabeth respectively. De Aar is the name of the important station of the apex of the triangle, just over 500 miles from Cape Town. As De Aar is a spot touched by the trains running to Kimberley, and northeast to Bloemfontein, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, it was regarded as likely that the Free State Boers would do their worst to wreck the railroads in that quarter to prevent, or at least delay, the passage of troops.

In the same vicinity are Colesburg and Burghersdorp, towns in the Cape Colony near the Orange River and on the railways that approach the Boer Republics, from Port Elizabeth and East London respectively.

Colesburg, famous as the place of birth of President Kruger, is a town of some 2,000 inhabitants, and has two bridges—the road bridge being 1,340 feet in length and the railway bridge (Norval's Pont) being 1,690. Burghersdorp is a rather smaller town, but with English, Roman Catholic and Wesleyan churches as well as Dutch; the Orange River is crossed at Bethulie bridge, 1,486 feet in length.

Aliwal North, a short distance from Burghersdorp, on a branch line, is an important frontier town of between 2,000 and 3,000 inhabitants, and faces the Free State across the Orange River, which is spanned by the Frere bridge, 860 feet in length, an avenue also from the colony into Basutoland.

Charlestown, in the extreme north of Natal Colony, 304 miles from the port of Durban, stands 5,386 feet above sea level, four miles distant from Majuba Hill. Before President Kruger suffered the railway to penetrate his territory Charlestown was of importance as a terminus, but its small glory has distance and the place is now quite insignificant.

A little lower down the hills, up which the railway climbs, lies Ingogo Station, close to the Schuins Hoogte battlefield (Ingogo Heights) and still lower, at a distance of thirty-six miles from Charlestown, in

the direction of the sea, stands Newcastle, on the Incandu River, at the foot of the Drakenbergs. It is a very healthy little town of some two thousand inhabitants, and possesses English, Wesleyan and other churches, a town hall, and a public library, and it is the center of some highly important coal mines as well as of a wool industry.

The coal fields extend into the Transvaal, and also southeast to Glencoe and Dundee—small mining towns whose names suggest the energy of Scottish founders in this promising part of Natal.

Ladysmith, or Ladismith (named after the wife of Sir Harry Smith, the Cape Governor after whom the Free State town of Harrismith is named) is a town of two or three thousand inhabitants, thirty miles from the foot of the Drakenberg Mountains, and is chiefly noteworthy as the site of the important military camp where a large part of the British force in Natal is now assembled.

On October 27 details reached the world outside of Kimberley of the defeat of 700 Boers by the British north of Kimberley, in which the Boers were said to have been completely routed with heavy loss, the British loss being three men killed and twenty-one men, including two officers, wounded. The Boers' losses were described as very heavy. The British force, it appears, consisted of the local volunteers, who, with the Lancashire regiment, completed the rout of the burghers after the artillery had driven them out of their entrenchments.

The fight appears to have been the result of a sortie with the view of breaking the cordon surrounding Kimberley. The British, apparently 500 strong, met 700 Boers, and, according to the official and other accounts, routed them after severe fighting, in which the armored train appears to have done valuable service. The Boers were strongly entrenched seven miles northward, and the British carried the Boers' position without serious loss. It is said that the Boers twice unfairly used a white flag, a charge, by the way, repeatedly brought against them.

General Botha, who was among the killed, was a member of the Volksraad and a famous Dutch fighter. He distinguished himself as a marksman at Brenkhorst-Spruit, when the Ninety-fourth British regiment was mowed down. He afterward defended a farm house against the British. When he surrendered the farm house he was found with five wounds, bathed in blood.

At Mafeking and at Kimberley the British used armored trains with

considerable effect, and a feigned retreat of the British at Mafeking is said to have caused the Boers to pursue them over mines filled with lyddite, which was exploded, inflicting great loss of life on the Boers.

Stories of sorties were as numerous as swallows in summer time, and just about as easy to grasp.

Mr. Rhodes, at Kimberley, late in October and early in November, appeared to be enjoying himself immensely. He began building a fine tree-shaded avenue, gave dinner parties daily, and frequently went out to watch the skirmishes between the British and the Boers.

There was no communication by rail between Kimberley and Mafeking, but the two garrisons sometimes exchanged messages, through daring riders or by means of crafty Kaffirs, who succeeded in slipping through the Boer lines at night.

It was estimated, November 5, that there were about 6,000 Boers around Kimberley, where Colonel Kekewich had charge of the British garrison of about 2,500 men, and Boer reinforcements were constantly reaching the place. The British made light of the Boer bombardments, which do not appear to have had much effect.

At Fort Tuli, in Rhodesia, Colonel Plumer, the British Commander there, also had interesting experiences similar to those of Colonel Baden-Powell at Mafeking. It was a case of bombardment and sortie, and, it could not be denied, the British held their own. There were many pretty acts of courtesy on both sides as the fighting progressed. For instance, General Cronje, in command of the Boers operating against Kimberley, reported to Pretoria, October 30, that the Boer force under Commandant Louwa was laagered near the grand-stand of the race course at Mafeking. He added that the Boers repulsed a British bayonet charge, October 27, that the British left six men dead on the field, and when Colonel Baden-Powell asked for an armistice the next day, in order to bury the dead, the Boers not only consented but helped the British place the bodies on the cart sent for them.

And so the war went on.

The British transport Roslyn Castle, the first steamer with reinforcements for South Africa on board, arrived at Cape Town, November 9, and was immediately sent on to Durban, Natal.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR.

The Boers, up to November 13, 1899, had not made any great headway against the invested towns of Ladysmith, Kimberley, Mafeking and Fort Tuli, while, on the other hand, the continued arrival of British troopships, with reinforcements, was reported from Cape Town. Troop-laden steamers were hurried to Durban, and a strong naval brigade, with seventy guns, was landed at that port from the British warships, thereby greatly strengthening the position of the British, who began to aim at the re-occupation of Colenso. The latter is an important strategic point between Ladysmith and Pietermaritzburg. A large stone and iron bridge crosses the Tugela river at that point. It was feared that if the Boers succeeded in getting between Ladysmith and Colenso their first move would be to blow up this bridge, in order to cut off General White's retreat and also to prevent reinforcements from going forward from Pietermaritzburg and Durban.

The Boers, November 9, made simultaneous attacks in force on the beleaguered British strongholds, but they were all repulsed, and in each case the Boer bombardment appeared to have had but little effect, while the attackers were reported to have suffered considerable loss. At all the besieged places the British kept the Boers busy by day and night sorties, in the meanwhile strengthening their positions as much as possible.

All the British commanders, Plumer at Fort Tuli, Baden-Powell at Mafeking, Kekewich at Kimberley, and White at Ladysmith, announced by various methods, pigeon-post, Kaffirgrams and despatch-riders, that they were quite confident of holding their own. More entrenchments were built and everything possible was done to make the defenses as strong as possible.

There were a number of humorous features to the sieges. At Kimberley, for instance, one very fierce bombardment of the Boers was officially reported to have resulted in no damage and the loss of "only one Kaffir killed." At Kimberley the irrepressible Mr. Rhodes seemed to continue enjoying life to the utmost, among other things sitting daily for a miniature portrait of himself, which Miss Amelia Kussner,

the American portrait painter, was engaged upon. At Mafeking, "one dog," probably a companion of the Matanzas mule, was reported killed during a hot shelling of the town by the Boers, and at Fort Tuli the defenders played cricket, a despatch said, in an interval between Boer attacks.

Though the Boers had by this time entered Cape Colony, Zululand and Basutoland at several points, they had made little or no progress with their plan of inciting the natives to take up arms against the British and prevailing upon the Dutch inhabitants of those parts of South Africa to join issue with them, although a number of the Cape Dutch joined Boer forces in different localities. But the invasion of Cape Colony was a failure, up to November 13, and so were the attempts to make the natives take up arms, while the threatened British garrisons improved their positions hourly.

About 8,000 British troops reached South Africa during the forty-eight hours ending November 8, and it was calculated that about 10,000 men would be gathered at Estcourt by November 17, giving General Methuen, then the British commander there, strength enough to re-occupy Colenso and relieve Ladysmith, if his knowledge of the situation there showed this to be immediately necessary. On the other hand, it was held that General Methuen, if possible, would await the arrival of the cavalry and artillery belonging to his division before making an advance and then try to take General Joubert between two fires.

Colonel Baden-Powell, the defender of Mafeking, like Mr. Rhodes, is a son of a rector. His father was the late Professor Baden-Powell, of Oxford and Langton Manor. Educated at Charterhouse School, he joined the Thirteenth Hussars about twenty-three years ago, and as adjutant served with his regiment in India and Afghanistan and also in South Africa. In 1887 he was again at Cape Town as assistant military secretary of General Sir Henry Smyth, and during his two years' tenure of this appointment he served in the Zululand operations, and was mentioned in despatches. After three years' service in Malta, Colonel Baden-Powell again returned to Africa, charged with the special service of raising and commanding the native levies in the Ashanti operations. He was fresh to this part of the coast, but was fortunate in securing the assistance of Captain Graham, Fifth Lancers, who knew the country and its people well. These two officers in a short time organized a considerable force, which did good service pioneering, scouting and

performing outpost work. After Colonel Baden-Powell showed their value as warriors, he returned home with the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

When the Matabeles rose, for a second time, in 1896, Sir Frederick Carrington, who was given command of the British forces, selected Colonel Baden-Powell as his chief staff officer. His acquaintance with the country and people proved of the greatest service, and he was again mentioned in the despatches, and received a further step in promotion. His services had by this time marked him out as an officer of rare courage and determination, of whom the military authorities could not afford to lose sight, and soon after he returned to England he was appointed to the command of the Fifth Dragoons. About four months ago, on reaching England from India, he was selected to proceed to South Africa to raise a military force on the spot and drill it into efficiency.

A heavy Boer bombardment of Mafeking with field-guns began October 16, 1899, but as it had little effect, the commander of the Boer forces there, General Cronje, sent to Pretoria for a 94-pounder Krupp gun, which arrived before Mafeking October 24. Subsequently, 330 shells from this gun were hurled in the direction of the beleagured town. This fire, however, also did little damage. Colonel Baden-Powell had caused the erection of plenty of bomb-proof shelters, under ground, and in these places of safety the British garrison and the civilian population of the place were gathered until the shell storm ceased and the Boers attempted to reach the town. They were then beaten off after a lively engagement in which rifles and rapid-fire guns took the most prominent part.

General Cronje retreated, temporarily, and tried to take Mafeking by systematic cutting of trenches, in echelon, each one getting nearer and nearer to the British position, though Colonel Baden-Powell harassed the Boers continually, especially by night attacks on their working parties.

The British, October 27, made a particularly brilliant sortie. Captain Fitz-Clarence and Lieutenant Swinburn, with Squadron "D" of the Protectorate Regiment, moved silently out of the British lines during the night and, with fixed bayonets, this force crept across the plain until they reached the vicinity of the Boer entrenchments. Then Captain Fitz-Clarence sounded his whistle, the bugle in certain cases

being superseded, and, with a cheer, the British dashed into the trenches and began bayonetting the Boers who, taken by surprise, were caught sleeping under their tarpaulins and are said to have cried for mercy. For a time, cold steel, intermingled with occasional rifle and revolver shots, had the day, the fifty-five men of the squadron inflicting severe loss on the Boers. Then the Boers in the trenches back of the one attacked opened a hot fire on the British, who retreated with the loss of six men killed and nine men wounded, including the two British officers. The Boers also captured two prisoners. The Boer loss was estimated at about one hundred men killed and wounded.

Mafeking was reported to be amply prepared to repel any attack the Boers might make on the place, though the latter brought into action seven heavy guns. The British reported that they had plenty of water and provisions but were tired of dodging shells and continual fighting, and were anxious for the arrival of reinforcements to enable them to assume the offensive.

General Cronje made a most determined attack on Mafeking October 31. The full fire of the Boer artillery was directed on Cannon Hill, occupied by a troop of the Protectorate Regiment, under Captain Walford, and at the same time, the Boers moved in force towards Key Down. Later the Boers poured a terrible fire on Cannon Hill, and Colonel Baden-Powell opened on the Boers with the guns of Mafeking, in order to support Captain Walford's force, whose Maxim guns, however, had already silenced the fire of a particularly well-served Boer twelve-pounder. Covered by their artillery fire, the Boers crept nearer and nearer to the hill and the position of the Protectorate Regiment detachment became serious. But, steady volleys from the British and the galling fire of their Maxims caused the Boers to hesitate, halt and, after five hours' fighting, they retreated after having sustained a heavy loss. For hours after the fighting had ended, it was asserted, two Boer wagons were engaged in picking up the dead and wounded of the attacking party. The British lost five men killed and five wounded. In spite of this light loss in killed and wounded on the British side, it was asserted that the hill was badly smashed up by the concentrated fire of the seven Boer guns and one thousand Boer rifles which had been directed against it, another example of the enormous expenditure of ammunition necessary to kill a few men.

By November 15, the British forces in South Africa had been re-

inforced by about 20,000 men, General Methuen, with some 10,000 men, was preparing to relieve General White at Ladysmith, communication with that commander had been re-established and General Buller, the British commander-in-chief in South Africa, was moving troops towards the frontiers of the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

In short, the Boer opportunity to inflict crushing blows on the British seemed to have been lost, though the Boers were bombarding Ladysmith November 12 with six forty-pounders, to which the British naval guns were not replying, from which it was assumed that the British had either run short of ammunition or were reserving their fire.

During this time the continental nations maintained an attitude of strict neutrality, while the German official press and newspapers in America expressed sympathy with the British, who, no doubt, were greatly strengthened by the neutral attitude of the government of the United States, one of the outcomes of the stand Great Britain took during our war with Spain, which, while probably largely sentimental and of newspaper origin, still had real warmth enough in it to engender a more kindly feeling in this country than would have been the case if Great Britain's sympathies had been pro-Spanish in 1898.

The attitude of Germany, at this stage of the South African war, doubtless, was prompted by the settlement of the Samoan question, as well as by the agreement arrived at between Great Britain and Germany, through Mr. Rhodes, regarding their African colonies and the Cape-to-Cairo Railroad.

Those who too severely blamed the government of the United States in 1898 for the apparently unavoidable shortcomings in the matter of certain food supplies and transport inconveniences, were shown, at about this period of Great Britain's South African war, that her officials were just as liable to fall into error in the same direction. Some of the British transports broke down and thus seriously delayed the pushing of reinforcements to the front, while, in at least one case, that of the British transport *Nubia*, 1,600 rations of "salt carrion, labelled 'New York, 1899,' had," according to a letter from a British officer published in the *London Times*, November 15, "to be thrown overboard, as it was full of disease." When a full, calm and impartial story of the war with Spain is written, it will be shown that the United States government almost accomplished miracles, taking everything

into consideration, and that the conduct of the war reflected the highest credit upon all concerned.

The Boers scored again, November 15, 1899, when they broke up a British armored train and captured about one hundred Dublin Fusiliers and Durban Volunteers.

The train, consisting of a flat-truck with a 7-pounder gun, manned by a petty officer and five bluejackets from the British cruiser *Tartar*, an armored truck-engine and tender, two armored-trucks and a flat-truck with a big screw-jack, left Estcourt, Natal, with an escort of about one hundred men of the Dublin Fusiliers and Durban Volunteers at 6 a. m. that day, in order to reconnoiter in the direction of Colenso. After passing Frere, the train steamed in the direction of Chieveley, where the Boers had been sighted. Some distance beyond Frere the British tapped the wires and were ordered to return to Estcourt. Consequently, the train began its journey homewards.

Suddenly, the Boers, who had been ambushed in thickets and behind rocks between the train and Frere, opened fire on the moving citadel at a range of about 2,000 yards. Previous to this, the Boers, unperceived, had removed several lengths of the rails and when the train tottered over the defective road-bed, their artillery opened fire, some of the cars were overturned, a number of men were injured and the skirmish became general. The Dublin Fusiliers and the Durban Volunteers left the train, headed by Captains Haldane and Wylie and Lieutenant Frankland, and Winston Churchill, the latter formerly a Lieutenant of British Hussars, but then acting as a newspaper correspondent. Churchill is a son of the late Lord Randolph Churchill and a grandson of the late Leonard Jerome, of New York. He behaved with great gallantry in rallying the British soldiers and carrying the wounded off the field, and finally fell into the hands of the Boers. He was taken to Pretoria but eventually succeeded in escaping.

The British bluejacket crew of the armored-train handled their piece effectively, but they had only fired three shots when it was knocked off its platform by a Boer shell. After this the British infantry men were practically surrounded and, later, surrendered.

The affair proved that the Boers, in spite of the desperate fighting about Ladysmith, still hoped to reduce that place and were moving forces south of it to engage the relieving force of the British, then about ready to commence a forward movement, and make the British advance

Meyer. General White's plan included fighting three simultaneous actions.

"On the night of Sunday to Monday, before daybreak, our troops marched out a distance of several miles from camp, and succeeded in securing certain points unseen by the enemy, the advantage being thus on our side. Considering the nature of the subsequent contests, our losses must be regarded as relatively light.

"The enemy began battle at ten minutes past five o'clock in the morning by firing their 40-pounder guns from a ridge, situated about four miles out east of the railway, and dropping shells into the town. The missiles luckily proved almost harmless.

"The action soon became general, and our left, center and right engaged the Boer positions. At first our batteries seemed unable to quite silence the Boer artillery, which fought with indomitable energy and pluck, the British gunners having to contend with the difficulty of being on low ground.

"General White's right and center gained some initial successes, but the enemy arrived in great force, and our right and left were attacked with tremendous vigor.

"Our left became partially hemmed in, and the right was driven in steadily. General retirement began at about eleven in the forenoon, and was executed everywhere with coolness.

"It was a serious misfortune to us that the Powerful's blue jackets, with their big guns, were not summoned sooner, as the result of the engagement would have been different. Their third shot with a 12-pounder, fired at one o'clock in the afternoon, silenced the Boer 40-pounder.

"It is probable that the town will be invested by the enemy, but it is quite safe.

"Scouting operations which were carried out on Saturday disclosed the fact that several of the enemy's laagers, including that of General Lucas Meyer's column, from Dundee, lay behind Lombard's and Bulwan Kops to the number of seven thousand men, with two batteries.

"The Free Staters and Joubert's forces had joined hands to the south of Modner's Spruit and west of the railway. Their central laager was well selected from a tactical point of view, being upon rough hills, south of Matawan's Hook.

"The enemy advanced in lines over a wide circuit of more than ten

miles, extending from west of Acton Homés to east of Bulwan. General White detailed Major Adye with a mountain battery of seven-pounders and part of the Royal Irish Fusiliers and the Gloucestershire regiment to hold the neck of the hills north of the old camp, thus menacing the Free Staters' line of retreat, and securing Ladysmith from a westerly attack.

"General Sir Archibald Hunter, with Colonel Grimwood, two batteries of artillery, the Leistershire and Liverpool regiments and the First and Second battalions of the rifle brigade, were sent to operate against Lucas Meyer.

"In passing from Lombard's and Bulwan Kops, unluckily one battery and the Liverpools lost their direction in advancing. They retraced their steps, but were not able to render assistance in the action until late.

"The remaining infantry brigade, Colonel Ian Hamilton's, comprising the Gordon Highlanders, the Devonshire regiment, the Manchester regiment and the Fourth battalion of the rifle brigade, and Colonel Howard's consisting of the First and Second battalions of the King's Royal Rifles, the Dublin Fusiliers and six field batteries, were sent to the center on the Newcastle roadway.

"Colonel Howard's brigade, being on the right, halted in the darkness behind a low kopje to the right of the roadway, about two and a half miles out, the guns of Howard's men making a detour by the right in order to turn what was thought to be the Boers' left.

"General White sought to thrust forward his center, while Major Adye, on the left, and Colonel Grimwood, on the right, held the opposed commanders in check.

"Major Adye, going on along Walker's Hook road, found a big force of Free Staters. The fighting soon became desperate. An exposed kopje, which was occupied, was at an early hour assailed on all sides, and their ammunition mules, with the Kaffir drivers, stampeded.

"Much of the same thing occurred to Grimwood's column, on the Bulwan side. The ammunition was lost, but our infantry quite held their own.

"Practically three actions were raging simultaneously. General White was with his center, where an artillery duel was proceeding from twenty minutes after five until half-past six.

Sir Godfrey Lagden went to meet Head Chief Lerothodi and had a long conference with him, the result of which was not known for some time afterwards, except, broadly, that Lerothodi reaffirmed his loyalty to the "Great White Queen," which was quite a relief to the British, as the Basutos are a warlike race and well organized for war purposes. In fact, it has been suggested that 10,000 to 20,000 Basutos could be recruited for use in the British colonial armies in India, China and other places.

CHAPTER XLIX.

METHUEN'S MARCH ON KIMBERLEY.

The next event of any great importance in the South African war was the battle of Belmont, which, though classed as a British victory, apparently cost the force of Great Britain more heavily than those of the Orange Free State. The engagement, which began November 22, 1899, with a skirmish, and was continued November 23, was the first result of General Methuen's movement north from Orange River and Witteputs, looking to the relief of Kimberley.

An Orange Free State force, at Fincham's Farm, November 22, shelled an advance body of the British, with the result that the British artillery was pushed forward and shelled a hill occupied by the Boers. The British subsequently advanced on the hill, occupied it and captured two Boer guns. The Boers, in this engagement, lost thirty men killed and wounded.

During the same afternoon the main Boer force advanced five miles from Fincham's Farm and, to the number of about 5,000 men, or more, took up an advantageous position along three ridges, which were admirably suited for defense.

At daybreak, November 23, the Boers opened fire from the hills on the nearest British position, at a distance of about 1,000 yards, and the engagement soon became general. The British, who numbered about 7,000 men in all, seem to have had the best of the artillery duel, for the Boer guns were silenced and the Scots Guards, Grenadier Guards, Northumberlands and Northamptons were ordered to capture the first Boer position at the point of the bayonet. The Guards' Brigade moved steadily forward until they reached the base of a hill a few miles east of Belmont Station. But, when within about one hundred and fifty yards of the base, the Boers poured such a terrible fire into the British ranks that the Guards staggered, halted and had to be rallied by their officers, who displayed the utmost gallantry in so doing. In a moment or two the Guards, who were falling rapidly under the withering fire of the Burgher marksmen, returned such a storm of lead, for the hail of bullets showered on them, that the Boer fire slackened considerably. This fearful rifle duel was continued for

about half an hour, by which time the British artillery had been doing effective work on the first ridge of rocks occupied by the Boers, who, eventually, were compelled to evacuate their position. As they broke, the Scots Guards, who had been climbing the hill with fixed bayonets, gave a cheer and rushed over the ridge, driving the Boers before them.

The whole British Ninth Brigade thereupon moved forward, in extended order, facing a terrible cross-fire from the Boers on the surrounding hills. The Coldstream Guards, supported by the Scots Guards, Grenadier Guards, Northumberlands and Northamptons, stormed the second position, another rocky ridge, occupied by the Boers, though met with a fierce rifle and artillery fire. The British moved steadily forward until the charge was sounded, when, with ringing cheers, they clambered up the hill and again drove the Boers off with cold steel.

The Boers, after this, made a stand at their third position, still another rocky ridge, in the rear of the two positions previously captured by the British. This was done in spite of a well-planned flanking movement upon the part of the British Lancers.

For the third time that morning the British infantry, assisted by the Naval Brigade, faced a deadly fire from a ridge of rocks, on a hill, defended by the Burgher hunter-farmers. The third battle that morning began at a range of 1,800 yards, which gradually diminished as the attacking infantry, supported by the well-directed fire of the British artillery, charged again and carried the third and other minor Boer positions at the bayonet's point. As the Boers retreated, they were charged by the British cavalry, who pursued them for about five miles.

During the day, the British captured the main Boer laager, the Boer guns, equipment, ammunition and stores, in addition to many head of cattle and a number of sheep.

The British loss was 223 killed, wounded and missing. The Boer loss was estimated by the British at 500 killed, wounded and captured.

The British captured about fifty prisoners, including a German commandant and six field cornets, equal in rank to a captain.

During the battle the Boers seem to have made unsoldierlike use of the white flag. After hoisting it, a British officer, Lieutenant Willoughby, stood up and was immediately shot down. The same thing is said to have occurred on previous occasions and gave rise to much bitter feeling in the British ranks. This was intensified by the fact

that Lieutenant Blundell, of the Grenadier Guards, who was among the killed, was shot by a wounded Boer he was attempting to succor.

All accounts agreed in praising the charging of the British infantry, the Scots Guards, for instance, entering the fight with drums beating and fifes playing.

Military experts questioned the wisdom of General Methuen's attack on the Boers near Belmont until reinforced by more cavalry, as the lack of the latter arm undoubtedly enabled the Boers to make an orderly retreat.

The day the battle was fought, it was announced that General Buller had left Cape Town for Durban. This served to still further call attention to the gravity of the situation in Natal, which was increased by the fact that the Natal Dutch had begun to join the Boer forces, an example which was beginning to be followed by the Dutch of Cape Colony. In fact, the British on all sides found themselves confronted by large bodies of armed Boers, whereas they had calculated that the main Boer army was in Natal.

The Boers, in spite of the arrival of British reinforcements numbering about 40,000 men, up to November 24, were so confident of victory, that they prepared the flag of the United Republic, bearing the Orange cross, to be hoisted over all the annexed towns.

General Methuen, after the battle of Belmont, continued his advance in the direction of Kimberley, and again engaged the Boers, November 25, at Gras Pan, about ten miles north of Belmont. The official report of the affair read:

"General Lord Methuen reports that he moved yesterday, November 25, with the Ninth Brigade, the mounted corps and the Naval Brigade, the Guards following with the baggage. A force of 2,500 Boers opposed him near Gras Pan. The action commenced at 6 A. M. The batteries fired shrapnel very accurately until the heights seemed clear. Then the Naval Brigade and Infantry assaulted the position. The fighting was desperate until 10 A. M., when the heights were carried, the Boers retreating on a line where the Ninth Lancers had been placed to intercept them.

"Early in the action 500 Boers made an attack on the rear of the Guards Brigade. They met this and also protected the flanks. The Naval Brigade acted with the greatest gallantry and has suffered heavily. No particulars are yet known.

"The enemy showed the greatest stubbornness. They must have suffered heavily. Twenty have been buried. Thirty-five killed and forty wounded are known of. More than fifty horses were found dead in one place. One battery fired 500 rounds.

"The force must halt one day at Gras Pan to rest and replenish their ammunition. The force worked splendidly, and are prepared to overcome any difficulty. The Naval Brigade, Royal Marines, Second Yorkshire Light Infantry and First North Lancashire Regiment especially distinguished themselves.

"Regarding Thursday's fight, 81 Boers were killed or otherwise accounted for, 64 wagons were burned, and a large quantity of powder, 5,000 rounds of ammunition and 750 shells were blown up. Albrecht commanded the Boer artillery. Delerraye was in chief command."

Among the British killed at Gras Pan were Commander Ethelston, of the first-class cruiser *Powerful*; Captain Senior, (Royal Marines), of the battleship *Monarch*, and Major Plumbe, (Royal Marines), of the cruiser *Doris*. Besides these officers killed, a number of other officers of the Naval Brigade were wounded.

The British losses, including 105 men of the Naval Brigade, were 198 men, the Yorkshires losing three officers and forty-eight of the rank and file killed, wounded or missing.

After the Battle of Gras Pan, also referred to as the Battle of Enslin, General Methuen lost no time in pushing on after the Boers, who fell back on the Modder River, about twenty-two miles from Kimberley. There another desperate engagement between the Boers and British was fought November 28. The official report of the engagement, as received by the British War Office, was as follows:

"Cape Town, November 28.—General Methuen reports:

"'Modder River, Tuesday.—Reconnoitered at 5 A. M. enemy's position on River Modder and found them strongly entrenched and concealed. No means of outflanking them because of the river.

"'Full action commenced with artillery, mounted infantry and cavalry at half-past five. Guards, on the right, and Ninth Brigade, on the left, attacked position in widely extended formation at half-past six, and, supported by the artillery, found themselves in front of the whole Boer force, 8,000 strong, with two large guns, four Krupps, etc. The Naval Brigade rendered great assistance from the railway.

"'After desperate, hard fighting, which lasted ten hours, our men,

without water or food, and in the burning sun, made the enemy quit his position.

“General Pole-Carew was successful in getting a small party across the river, gallantly assisted by three hundred Sappers.

“‘I speak in terms of high praise of the conduct of all who were engaged in one of the hardest and most trying fights in the annals of the British army. If I can mention one arm particularly, it is two batteries of artillery.’”

No further details of this battle were obtainable for some time later, though it was announced that the killed included Colonel H. P. Northcott, of the staff, and Lieutenant-Colonel H. R. Stopford, of the Coldstream Guards, while a number of other distinguished officers were killed or wounded, among the latter being Major Count Gleichen, of the Grenadier Guards, a relative of Queen Victoria. General Methuen was also slightly wounded.

But when the list of British casualties was made known, December 2, showing a total of 452 killed and wounded, it was seen that General Methuen's losses were not as severe as he had led the world to suppose, by the wording of his official report.

The unofficial accounts of the battle of Modder River said the Boers numbered about 10,000 men, having been reinforced from the Boer army besieging Kimberley. They were very strongly entrenched on both banks of the river, particularly on the south side, where their position extended five miles along the bank of the stream. The Burghers, who were well supplied with artillery, fought desperately for nearly fourteen hours.

The British force engaged consisted of the Second Battalion of the Coldstream Guards, the First Battalion of the Scots Guards, the Third Battalion of the Grenadier Guards, the First Battalion of the Northumberland Fusiliers, the Second Battalion of the Yorkshire Light Infantry, part of the First Battalion of the North Lancashire Regiment, the Ninth Lancers, a detachment of Mounted Infantry, three Batteries of Field Artillery and the First Battalion of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, who arrived just in time to reinforce General Methuen's troops and take part in the engagement, which began at daybreak, November 28, with the British guns shelling the Boers' left. The Boers replied with artillery, Hotchkiss guns and Maxims, the fierce artillery duel lasting for some hours. Then the British Infantry ad-

vanced across the plain in two brigades towards the Modder River. The Guards were on the right and were met with a terrible hail of bullets from the Boer sharpshooters who were posted close to the river, on the north bank in a most favorable position while the British, having no cover whatever, suffered severely. The Scots Guards succeeded in advancing six hundred yards before the Boers opened fire on them, but then they had to lie down to escape the storm of bullets which the Boers swept in their direction and which, for that matter, lasted throughout the day.

The firing by this time had become general along both lines, with the British steadily pushing forward during the lulls in the firing, and, when favorable opportunities for so doing presented themselves, taking advantage of every inequality in the ground, although there was very little to protect them at any point from the Boer fire. The Highlanders made several gallant attempts to force a passage of the river, but were met with such a fierce enfilading fire, that they had to retire after having many men killed and wounded. Later a detachment of the Guards, with a fine rush and cheering wildly, forced the passage of the river, drove back the Boers immediately opposing them and held their own for hours against a very much superior force.

Along the whole of the Boer front were deep rifle-pits in which the most accurate of all the Boer marksmen were posted, these pits being strengthened with breastworks of sand, still further reinforced with galvanized iron plates and parapets of sand-bags, so that the Boer sharpshooters may be said to have been absolutely protected from rifle fire and so positioned as to be able to inflict terrible damage upon the attackers.

As there was no cover on the open plain, for three hours the British had to lie down while the storm of lead passed over them, taking advantage of every little lull in the firing to make short rushes forward and thus get closer and closer to the Boers in spite of the latter's fearful fire. But this was not done without the ground being strewn with British dead and wounded. As in all the battles, the British officers showed a magnificent example in sacrificing themselves without hesitation in order to encourage their men in the terrible advances.

The Scots Guards were the first to reach the river bank, near the bed of a dried-up water-course, and they dashed into it as a hail of bullets swirled over them. Then, with ringing cheers, they swept up

the slope, reached level ground and were fully exposed to the fire of the Boers. There was absolutely no shelter and they lost heavily.

During this time the Grenadiers, Coldstreams, Northumberlands and Highlanders pushed forward on both sides of the railroad, which was then the center of the British advance line. It was no easy thing to advance in the face of such a fire as the Boer sharpshooters can deliver, especially when the latter could not be seen and the British troops were only able to fire at the light haze of smoke from the Mausers of their enemies.

The British, however, made several splendid rushes to the river at various points and a company of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders succeeded in getting across, but lost heavily and had to fall back to the south bank, after reaching the Boer entrenchments.

The Guards and the Northumberlands also rushed the river and the latter reached the Boer trenches and bayoneted a number of Burghers.

The artillery duel was magnificent and the continued fire of the rifles on both sides was probably unprecedented. The British shells set fire to nearly all the buildings held by the Boers on the river bank and drove the Burghers out of them, though, in many cases, not before the buildings collapsed.

The British troops suffered terribly from the heat and thirst, to say nothing of lack of food. Every possible effort was made during the engagement to send water-carts towards the firing line, but they were such good targets and the Boer artillerymen were so skilled that the carts were knocked over one after another and their drivers fled in panic.

It was claimed that it was the Orange Free State troops who were the first to give way under the fire of the British artillery and that it was they who bolted from their trenches. The Free State artillery is also said to have given way and to have been driven back to the front by the Transvaal Boers, who threatened to shoot them if they retired.

A number of Boer dead were found in the river after the troops on the south bank had been driven across the Modder, and all the British statements agree that the Boer loss was enormous.

No praise is too high for the manner in which the Boers constructed their defences. In addition to the admirable rifle-pits already described, every point of ground affording shelter for riflemen or artillery, or

enabling the troops to construct trenches or other defensive works was taken advantage of along the five miles of defence. The low, uncemented walls around the gardens of the hotels of Modder River and other places were converted into strong forts and the ranges for the riflemen and artillery of the Boers were distinctly marked with posts, wooden crosses, cans, or other such signs, so that their fire was deadly accurate all along the line.

In spite of the desperate fighting of the British, it may be said the battle was a drawn engagement when night fell on the scene of carnage. During the night, however, General Cronje, the Boer commander, saw that his position was hopeless and, at daylight, the British found the Boers had evacuated their positions, and they finally crossed the river and occupied the sites previously held by the Boers on the north bank. It was estimated that the Boer loss was over one thousand men killed and wounded.

There were some heroic incidents during the battle. One of the most noteworthy was that of Lieutenant-Colonel Codrington, of the Coldstream Guards; Captain Sellpein, of the Queensland (Australia) Contingent, and about a dozen privates and non-commissioned officers of the Coldstream Guards, who, to encourage their comrades, sprang into the river in the face of a steady Boer fire and swam nearly to the other side in spite of the bullets sputtering all around them. But, not being followed by any large number of the troops, the brave little band was compelled to retire, some of them having to join hands in order to reach the south shore in safety, and others being nearly drowned in this retreat by water.

The result of the battle was a gain for the British, inasmuch as they forced the passage of the Modder River against superior numbers, some reports saying the Boers had at least 10,000 men in the field, and established themselves firmly on the north bank.

CHAPTER L.

PUSHING THE CAMPAIGN.

President McKinley, in his Message to Congress, December 5, 1899, touching on the war between Great Britain and the Boers, said:

"This Government has maintained an attitude of neutrality in the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and the Boer States of Africa. We have remained faithful to the precept of avoiding entangling alliances as to affairs not of a direct concern. Had circumstances suggested that the parties to the quarrel would have welcomed any kindly expression of the hope of the American people that war might be averted, good offices would have been gladly tendered. The United States representative at Pretoria was early instructed to see that all neutral American interests be respected by the combatants. This has been an easy task in view of the positive declarations of both British and Boer authorities that the personal and property rights of our citizens should be observed.

"Upon the withdrawal of the British agent from Pretoria the United States consul was authorized, upon the request of the British Government, and with the assent of the South African and Orange Free State Governments, to exercise the customary good offices of a neutral for the care of the British interests. In the discharge of this function I am happy to say that abundant opportunity has been afforded to show the impartiality of this Government toward both the combatants."

From Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking the oft-told stories of Boer attacks repulsed were retold and there seemed no denying that the British at all three places were holding their own, though Mafeking was already suffering from sickness and privation.

At Ladysmith, from about the middle of November to November 25, the siege had become monotonous and such little incidents as occasional bombardments, sorties and night alarms were welcomed as tending to relieve the tension. Only eight men, it appeared, were killed by the Boer shells up to that time, and in all the sorties and repulses, only about one hundred men were killed or wounded. In fact, since the repulse of the Boers November 9, the latter appeared to have given

up hope of easily taking Ladysmith by storm or bombardment, and, while continuing the siege of the place, sent large forces southward to forage and meet the British advance. This movement progressed slowly, but the British were at Frere, south of Colenso, November 27, engaged in repairing the bridge there and in concentrating their troops for the general advance.

In the meanwhile, further reinforcements of 10,000 men were being assembled in England for service in South Africa, reinforcements were hurried to General Methuen. General Gatacre, at Queenstown, Cape Colony, received additional troops, and the forces of General French, protecting General Methuen's line of communication, with headquarters at Naauw Poort, were strengthened from the forces constantly arriving at Cape Town.

In Natal, the British advance, which had been progressing slowly, began in earnest November 25, when General Buller reached Durban from Cape Town and immediately went to the front. At about the same time the forces of General Joubert began retiring from the Mooi River, in the direction of Colenso.

Telegraphic and railroad communication between Estcourt and Frere and the British forces south was re-established November 25, and the British troops at Mooi River joined the garrison at Estcourt, which enabled General Hildyard, in command at Estcourt, to move his troops north, in the direction of Colenso, reaching Frere, half-way to Colenso, November 26. There heliographic communication with Ladysmith was established. The railroad bridge at Frere, spanning a broad river, was found to have been destroyed by the Boers, who were retiring.

A general advance on Colenso was then ordered and a flying column of British troops was sent out to intercept the Boer raiding parties.

Previous to this there had been a sharp skirmish at Beacon Hill, near Estcourt, November 22.

General Hildyard's plans were to attack, with the bayonet, Beacon Hill, which is about 150 feet high, and a hill beyond, both occupied by Boers in force. A column commanded by Hildyard marched five miles over the undulating plains and then began the work of climbing the height. A heavy naval gun and a battery of field artillery were dragged with the greatest difficulty over the plain and up an almost inaccessible eminence. The Boers retired while the British were climb-

ing Beacon Hill. At that moment a terrific thunderstorm of torrential rain and hailstones burst, continuing for hours. At six o'clock the weather cleared, and a few artillery and rifle exchanges closed the day's operations, darkness falling and the prospect being very dismal.

When the storm had passed away the British march was resumed, until, after several hours of dangerous and tedious work, climbing the hills and crossing swollen rivulets, the advanced pickets of the Boers were reached in the small hours of the morning.

The West Yorkshire regiment was moving steadily along and was within bayonet-striking distance, when a nervous private fired his rifle. This warned the Boers and they fled. The Yorkshires, however, charged as best they could, with three cheers, clearing the Boers from the final position at daybreak.

But the Boers rallied and attempted to ride the British down, whereupon the charge was sounded and the British responded with cheers. The Boers fled and the position was won. The Boers left behind them a number of guns, ammunition, rifles and blankets, as well as thirty horses. The British also captured several prisoners. The British loss was fourteen men killed and fifty wounded.

The British column then retired to camp, while the artillery and some infantry held Beacon Hill.

The Boers, November 26, occupied Stromberg, in Cape Colony, and further risings of Afrikanders in that colony were reported, apparently showing that the long-delayed movement of the Boer sympathizers was in progress.

A force of 500 Boers attacked Kuruman, in Bechuanaland, November 13, but the news did not reach Cape Town until November 26. The fighting lasted almost continuously for six days and the Boers were eventually driven off.

The situation of affairs in South Africa, December 9, 1899, was about as follows:

General Buller, with a relieving force of about 25,000 men of all arms, had his headquarters at Frere, south of Colenso, Natal, and was reported to be repairing bridges and culverts and otherwise preparing for an advance in force to the relief of Ladysmith, where General White, with about 10,000 combatants, had been besieged since November 2. General White appeared to have more than held his own, keeping the Boers busy with sorties and other movements, principal of which was a

brilliant sortie, December 8, when a British force from Ladysmith, during the early morning hours, stormed and carried the hill at Lombardskop, where one of the most dangerous of the Creusot guns was mounted, and destroyed that gun and a howitzer with dynamite. The British also captured a Maxim-gun and retired with slight loss. The Boers, who were taken by surprise, did not lose many men.

Advices from the Head Boer Laager, near Ladysmith, said several Kaffir runners bound from Ladysmith to Estcourt had been captured by the Boers. The intercepted messages showed that the men and horses in Ladysmith were on half rations, that whisky cost \$5 per bottle and that the supply of beer was exhausted.

The Boer official report of the affair about agreed with the British official version of the sortie, which was as follows:

"Dated Frere Camp, December 9, afternoon:

"The following was received from General White to-day: 'Last night sent General Hunter, with 500 Natal Volunteers, under Royston, and 100 of the Imperial Light Horse, under Edwards, to surprise a gun on a hill. The enterprise was admirably carried out and was entirely successful, the hill being captured and a six-inch gun and a howitzer being destroyed with gun cotton by Captain Fowke and Lieutenant Turner. A Maxim was captured and brought to Ladysmith.

"Our loss was one killed and Major Henderson, of the First Battalion of the Argyll Highlanders, wounded.

"At the same time Colonel Knox seized the hill, one squadron of the Nineteenth Hussars rode around Pepworth Hill, burning kraals and cutting the Boer telegraph lines. They had no casualties.'"

The British made another sortie from Ladysmith December 10, and blew up another big Boer gun.

General Methuen, at the Modder River, had by this time been reinforced by cavalry, infantry and, particularly, by a battery of six howitzers firing lyddite shells. Twelve howitzers of the same kind were sent to General Buller. These guns were considered equal to the best artillery in possession of the Boers.

Lack of effective artillery, cavalry and scouting seem to have been the chief blunders of the British campaign up to this point. In fact, it was estimated that while General Joubert's "Long Toms," (Creusot guns), were hurling shells into Ladysmith, a discharge of seven of

General White's 15-pounder guns was necessary to nearly equal the weight of metal hurled by one of the Boer siege-guns. In addition, the Boer guns had a much longer range.

General French, with his base at Naauw Poort, and commanding about 4,000 mounted men, was slowly collecting a force sufficient to attack the Boers threatening his position, while some 5,000 men, under General Gatacre, with headquarters at Putter's Kraal, were preparing to take the offensive.

On the Orange Free State border, the Cape Colony Boers were again becoming uneasy and numbers of them began joining the Boer forces in the field, the delay in the British advances having the effect upon the Afrikanders of convincing many waverers that the Boer cause would ultimately triumph.

In Great Britain the military authorities were straining the army organization to the utmost in endeavors to send more men to South Africa and the British Admiralty was concentrating the Mediterranean and Channel Squadrons in view of possible European interference and arranging to call out the Naval Reserves and Coast Guard to man every available fighting ship in case of necessity.

The authorities in Great Britain also prepared to call out the volunteers, who numbered about 250,000 men, and the able-bodied veterans, of whom, it was estimated, that about 80,000 would rejoin the colors.

These preparations were increased December 11, when it became known that General Gatacre, December 9, had sustained a severe reverse, losing a number of killed and wounded and over 600 men captured by the Boers. The official Boer report of this engagement was as follows:

"The British, with six cannon, attacked the Boers, under Swanepoel and Olivier, and stormed the Boers' entrenched positions on the kopjes. After a severe fight they were compelled to surrender. The prisoners are Major Sturges, six officers and 230 non-commissioned officers and men of the Northumberlands and two officers and about 250 non-commissioned officers and men of the Irish Fusiliers. It is impossible to state the number of dead or wounded British. The Boers captured three cannon and two ammunition wagons."

Unofficial advices showed that the British General was cleverly led into a trap by treacherous guides. He left his camp at Putter's Kraal,

for Molteno, by train, during the evening of December 8, intending to surprise the Boers. The moon was down and everything favored the British approach to the Boer position, a most strongly entrenched camp at Stormberg and in its vicinity. At Stormberg the Boers had six laagers of about 1,000 men each, at Dordrecht they had 800 men, and at Sterkstroom 220 men. The British force was variously estimated at from 2,000 to 4,000 men.

The British force arrived within some two miles of its destination, early the next morning, without mishap, when, suddenly, a terrific rifle and artillery fire was opened upon them by the Boers from strong positions on the right and left flanks of the attacking force. A detachment of the Royal Irish Rifles, which composed the British advance guard, sought shelter behind a neighboring hill, where they were soon afterwards joined by the rest of the British column. The Boers, however, had guns covering this position, and the British soon found it untenable, though two batteries of British artillery had taken up positions and opened fire on the Boer guns, thus drawing on themselves part of the Burghers' fire and thereby enabling the British to rally from disorder into something like discipline.

To still further assist the hard-pressed British force, a detachment of mounted infantry was moved northward with the object of attacking the Boers' flank; but a strong Boer force was seen moving from the north, necessitating sending the Royal Irish Rifles and the Northumberland Regiment to meet it. These troops were met with a well-directed machine-gun fire and suffered heavily, while the whole British force was compelled to retire on Molteno, the retreat being well covered by the British artillery.

Thus was the "reconnaissance in force" of General Gatacre turned into a decided reverse for the British arms. During the retreat, three of the British guns were abandoned.

General Gatacre was severely blamed in England for this disaster and he appears to have deserved it, as did General White at the Battle of Nicholson's Nek, where the British had an almost exactly similar experience.

The British troops were seemingly set an impossible task and were guided by traitors. After a terrible march over rocky country and across the plains, being sixteen hours under arms, they were led to attack the strongest of the Boer positions, stone-defended entrench-

ments on a high hill, and defended by 6,000 men, instead of the 2,500 men reported by the guides.

The defeat of General Gatacre had a strong effect, politically, in Cape Colony, many of the wavering Afrikanders joining the Boer forces as soon as the news of the British reverse became known.

General Gatacre, born in 1843, was what the British term an "office general." That is to say, he had seen little active service, and it was prophesied in London before the war broke out that disaster would overtake any column under his command.

The British force commanded by General Methuen suffered a severe defeat December 11, at the Battle of Magersfontein, north of the Modder River and just across the border in the Orange Free State. The loss of the British was over 850 men killed and wounded. The Boer losses were variously estimated at from 700 to 2,000 men, killed or wounded. The British officers killed included Major-General Andrew G. Wauchope, in command of the Highland Brigade, one of the most distinguished and popular officers in the British army; the Marquis of Winchester, Premier Marquis of England, Major of the Second Battalion of the Coldstream Guards, and Colonel Downham, First Battalion Gordon Highlanders. It was estimated that the Boers numbered 12,000 men, most strongly entrenched. The British attacking force is reported to have been outnumbered two to one, as General Methuen had to leave a number of his troops at the Modder River camp, in order to protect his rear, flanks and line of communication across that stream.

It would be difficult to imagine a stronger position than the one occupied by the Boers. The Magersfontein Range terminates on the east with an abrupt saddle-rock, about 150 feet high. Lines of Boer entrenchments and rows of concealed rifle-pits protected by barbed-wire entanglements ran around the whole front of the hill, some of the entrenchments being so cleverly concealed by leaves that the British approached within 300 yards of them without being aware of their position. This part of the Boer defences was some two miles long, running due east and west, the western end of the trenches following the curve of the hills and thus affording a safe retreat. The whole Boer position was about six miles long and most ably defended.

The British official despatches describing the battle, dated December 12, were as follows:

"The enemy showed the greatest stubbornness. They must have suffered heavily. Twenty have been buried. Thirty-five killed and forty wounded are known of. More than fifty horses were found dead in one place. One battery fired 500 rounds.

"The force must halt one day at Gras Pan to rest and replenish their ammunition. The force worked splendidly, and are prepared to overcome any difficulty. The Naval Brigade, Royal Marines, Second Yorkshire Light Infantry and First North Lancashire Regiment especially distinguished themselves.

"Regarding Thursday's fight, 81 Boers were killed or otherwise accounted for, 64 wagons were burned, and a large quantity of powder, 5,000 rounds of ammunition and 750 shells were blown up. Albrecht commanded the Boer artillery. Delerraye was in chief command."

Among the British killed at Gras Pan were Commander Ethelston, of the first-class cruiser *Powerful*; Captain Senior, (Royal Marines), of the battleship *Monarch*, and Major Plumbe, (Royal Marines), of the cruiser *Doris*. Besides these officers killed, a number of other officers of the Naval Brigade were wounded.

The British losses, including 105 men of the Naval Brigade, were 198 men, the Yorkshires losing three officers and forty-eight of the rank and file killed, wounded or missing.

After the Battle of Gras Pan, also referred to as the Battle of Enslin, General Methuen lost no time in pushing on after the Boers, who fell back on the Modder River, about twenty-two miles from Kimberley. There another desperate engagement between the Boers and British was fought November 28. The official report of the engagement, as received by the British War Office, was as follows:

"Cape Town, November 28.—General Methuen reports:

"'Modder River, Tuesday.—Reconnoitered at 5 A. M. enemy's position on River Modder and found them strongly entrenched and concealed. No means of outflanking them because of the river.

"'Full action commenced with artillery, mounted infantry and cavalry at half-past five. Guards, on the right, and Ninth Brigade, on the left, attacked position in widely extended formation at half-past six, and, supported by the artillery, found themselves in front of the whole Boer force, 8,000 strong, with two large guns, four Krupps, etc. The Naval Brigade rendered great assistance from the railway.

"'After desperate, hard fighting, which lasted ten hours, our men,

without water or food, and in the burning sun, made the enemy quit his position.

“General Pole-Carew was successful in getting a small party across the river, gallantly assisted by three hundred Sappers.

“I speak in terms of high praise of the conduct of all who were engaged in one of the hardest and most trying fights in the annals of the British army. If I can mention one arm particularly, it is two batteries of artillery.”

No further details of this battle were obtainable for some time later, though it was announced that the killed included Colonel H. P. Northcott, of the staff, and Lieutenant-Colonel H. R. Stopford, of the Coldstream Guards, while a number of other distinguished officers were killed or wounded, among the latter being Major Count Gleichen, of the Grenadier Guards, a relative of Queen Victoria. General Methuen was also slightly wounded.

But when the list of British casualties was made known, December 2, showing a total of 452 killed and wounded, it was seen that General Methuen's losses were not as severe as he had led the world to suppose, by the wording of his official report.

The unofficial accounts of the battle of Modder River said the Boers numbered about 10,000 men, having been reinforced from the Boer army besieging Kimberley. They were very strongly entrenched on both banks of the river, particularly on the south side, where their position extended five miles along the bank of the stream. The Burghers, who were well supplied with artillery, fought desperately for nearly fourteen hours.

The British force engaged consisted of the Second Battalion of the Coldstream Guards, the First Battalion of the Scots Guards, the Third Battalion of the Grenadier Guards, the First Battalion of the Northumberland Fusiliers, the Second Battalion of the Yorkshire Light Infantry, part of the First Battalion of the North Lancashire Regiment, the Ninth Lancers, a detachment of Mounted Infantry, three Batteries of Field Artillery and the First Battalion of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, who arrived just in time to reinforce General Methuen's troops and take part in the engagement, which began at daybreak, November 28, with the British guns shelling the Boers' left. The Boers replied with artillery, Hotchkiss guns and Maxims, the fierce artillery duel lasting for some hours. Then the British Infantry ad-

CHAPTER LI.

BULLER REPULSED AT THE TUGELA RIVER.

The British were deeply humiliated after receiving the news of the defeats of Generals Gatacre and Methuen, but their cup of bitterness was filled to the brim, December 16, when the War Office at London announced that the man upon whom the fate of the British Empire was said to be resting, General Buller, the commander-in-chief of the forces of Great Britain in South Africa, had been "repulsed" at the Tugela River, Natal, the previous day, with the loss of eleven guns. General Buller's casualty list was 1,119 men, killed, wounded or missing. The Boer loss was not stated. It was a terrible blow to British pride. Three generals defeated within a week, and, in each case, apparently owing to the same blundering—failure to properly reconnoiter a position before attacking it.

Perhaps the story of this battle is best told in the official despatch of General Buller, which described the affair in detail. He cabled to the War Office as follows:

"Chieveley Camp, December 15, 6:20 P. M.—I regret to report a serious reverse. I moved in full strength from the camp near Chieveley at 4 o'clock this morning. There are two fordable places in the Tugela River, and it was my intention to force a passage through one of them. They are about two miles apart and I intended to force one or the other with one brigade supported by the central brigade. Hart was to attack the left drift. Hildyard had the right of the road. Lyttleton was in the center to support either.

"Early in the day I saw that Hart would not be able to force a passage and directed him to withdraw. He had, however, attacked with great gallantry. His leading battalion, the Connaught Rangers, I fear suffered a great deal. Colonel Brooke was severely wounded.

"I then ordered Hildyard to advance, which he did. His leading regiment, the East Surrey, occupied Colenso station and the houses near the bridge. At that moment I heard that the whole artillery I had sent back to that attack, namely, the Fourteenth and Sixty-sixth Field Batteries and six naval 12-pounder quick-firers, the whole under Colonel Long, were out of action.

"It appears that Long, in his desire to be within effective range, advanced close to the river. It proved to be full of the enemy, who suddenly opened a galling fire at close range, killing all the horses, and the gunners were compelled to stand to their guns. Some wagon teams got shelter for troops in a donga.

"Desperate efforts were made to bring out the field-guns, but the fire was too severe. Only two were saved by Captain Schofield and some drivers, whose names I will furnish. Another most gallant attempt with three teams was made by an officer whose name I will obtain. Of eighteen horses thirteen were killed, and as several drivers were wounded I would not allow another attempt.

"As it seemed there would be great loss of life in an attempt to force a passage unsupported by artillery, I directed the troops to withdraw, which they did in good order. Throughout the day a considerable force of the enemy was pressing my right flank, but was kept back by the mounted men under Lord Dundonald and part of Barton's Brigade. The day was intensely hot and most trying on the troops, whose conduct was excellent.

"We have abandoned ten guns and lost by shell fire one. The losses of Hart's Brigade are, I fear, heavy, though the proportion of severely wounded is not, I hope, large. The Fourteenth and Sixty-sixth Batteries also sustained severe losses.

"We have retired to the camp at Chieveley."

The British press and people accepted the defeat with good spirit, though there was a hardening of faces and a firmer clenching of fists as the people realized that the Empire was at stake. On all sides were heard words of encouragement for the troops and calm warnings not to condemn the generals until all the facts in all the cases were fully known. But there was a terrible undercurrent of resentment against the Government and the War Office officials, who were seen to have blundered from the start; first, in vastly underestimating the strength of the Boers; secondly, in losing much valuable time in sending reinforcements to the front, and, thirdly, in having an intelligence department so incompetent, to all appearances, that the number and caliber of the Boer guns were unknown until it was forcibly demonstrated that they were superior to the British guns. The number of men the Boers were able to put in the field was so ridiculously estimated that, only two months after the opening of the war, the British officials who had

calculated that 50,000 men would be sufficient to establish the supremacy of Great Britain in South Africa, slowly realized that it would be a hard task for at least 150,000 British troops to accomplish. In the meanwhile, all the regular British troops available were at the front or being sent there, while the reliefs of Ladysmith and Kimberley, to say nothing of Mafeking, were as far off, apparently, as the day the sieges began. On the other hand, provisions were growing scarcer and scarcer at all three places, and the Boer lines were drawing closer and closer to the British defences.

There was a hastily summoned meeting of the British Cabinet December 16, and the result was made public December 17 in the following announcements by the British War Office:

"As the campaign in Natal is, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, likely to require the presence and undivided attention of General Buller, it has been decided to send Field-Marshal Lord Roberts to the Cape as Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, with General Lord Kitchener as chief of his staff.

"All remaining portions of the Army Reserve, including Section 'D,' will be called out. The Seventh Division which is being mobilized will proceed to South Africa without delay, as well as reinforcements of artillery, including a howitzer brigade. The Commander-in-Chief in South Africa has been authorized to continue to raise at his discretion local mounted corps, and it is intended to send as well a considerable mounted force from home. Nine battalions of militia, in addition to the two battalions which have already volunteered for service in Malta and the Channel Islands, will be allowed to volunteer for service outside the United Kingdom, and an equivalent addition number of militia battalions will be embodied for service at home. A strong force of volunteers from selected yeomanry regiments will be formed for service in South Africa. Arrangements are being made and will shortly be announced for the employment in South Africa of a strong contingent of carefully selected volunteers. The patriotic offers which are being received from the Colonies will, as far as possible, be accepted. Preference will be given to offers of mounted contingents."

This meant that General Buller was to be relieved of the supreme command in South Africa, and that Great Britain would send about 180,000 men against the Boers, of which number at least 30,000 would be needed to protect the lines of communication.

The steps taken by the Government went a long way towards restoring British confidence in the ability of the army to establish the supremacy of Great Britain in South Africa, though when it became known that General Buller's losses at the Tugela River were over a thousand men, killed, wounded and missing, footing up a total loss of about 7,700 men since the war began, there were many people who believed that even with 150,000 men in the fighting line Great Britain would have a very difficult task before her. This view was strengthened by the reports from Cape Colony showing that the three British reverses of the "Black Week" had resulted in a rising of very many of the Dutch farmers of the northern part of the Colony, and there were also signs of great uneasiness among the Basutos, who began to lose faith in the strength of the British.

Britons throughout the world volunteered for service in South Africa, and in England and Scotland the scenes of patriotic enthusiasm were described as being worthy of the noblest traditions of the Elizabethan era. The Empire is at stake! Such was the slogan which echoed around the world. Battalion after battalion of militia and volunteers offered to go to the front, and Canada, Australia and New Zealand made propositions to equip more men of all arms, particularly mounted men, to take part in the second campaign against the Boers. The volunteer regiments of London alone offered to provide 50,000 trained citizen soldiers for foreign service, and from Wales, Scotland and Ireland came similar offers of armed men.

The Admiralty was equal to the occasion, and fast transports were fitted out on all sides, nearly all the White Star Line steamers and other such vessels being chartered or pressed into the service under the Naval Reserve regulations. Nine battalions of militia out of the twenty-four embodied were hurried to the shipping centers and the work of picking out the best men from the yeomanry (volunteer cavalry) who had offered to go to Africa was pushed with the greatest energy.

Deep down in the hearts of nearly all Britons was a feeling of fierce indignation against the Commander-in-Chief, Field Marshal Lord Wolseley; the Secretary of State for War, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, to say nothing of the resentment felt against Mr. Chamberlain. Lord Wolseley was held responsible for the general state of unpreparedness of the army, for the blunders of the Intelligence Department of the War

Office, and, above all, for the fact that the British artillery had been shown to be greatly inferior in range to that of the Boers, a point which, it appears, was known almost everywhere except at the British War Office.

The Marquis of Lansdowne was blamed for not sending troops to South Africa long before matters had reached the very critical stage, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was held responsible for part of the blundering, in refusing to furnish, in time, the funds necessary for the moving of troops to the theater of war.

These were only a few of the charges made against the Government officials. Rank favoritism and shortsightedness were also alleged against Lord Wolseley and his "Piccadilly clique." In short, the glaring defects in the military plans were apparent to everybody, and the storm of resentment was not less fierce because it was subdued by the overwhelming waves of patriotism which swept over the British Empire and carried troop-laden transports to South Africa as fast as gold, iron and steam could get them there.

Snubbed and side-tracked veteran fighters who had been ignored by Lord Wolseley at the outbreak of hostilities were hurriedly ordered to the front, or were consulted as to the steps to be taken in the future. Among the gallant soldiers sent to South Africa from India was General Sir Hector Macdonald, the hero of Omdurman, a warrior who had risen from the ranks, step by step, through sheer bravery and military capacity, but who had no titled relatives or friends at Court. In short, the fighting men of the Empire were called upon to draw their swords in its defence.

In view of the preparations for this second campaign against the Boers, it may be well to glance at the record of the man called to assume charge of the military operations.

General Lord Roberts, (First Baron Roberts of Kandahar and Waterford), Victoria Cross, and the holder of many other orders and decorations, is known as "Bobs." He was born at Cawnpore, India, September 30, 1832, was the younger son of General Sir Abraham Roberts, was educated at Eton, then at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, and afterward at Addiscombe, the training school of the East India Company. He entered the Bengal Artillery as a lieutenant, when nineteen years of age, and went to Hindustan. During the Indian mutiny Roberts was at first one of Nicholson's staff officers, at the head

of the Punjab movable column. Then he went to Delhi, on the artillery staff, and afterward was with Sir Colin Campbell at the relief of Lucknow.

When the British relieving army got close to the rebel lines outside Lucknow, Sir Colin Campbell, wishing to let Outram know of his progress, wanted a flag raised on the mess-house. Within plain view of the mutineers Lieutenant Roberts climbed to the top of the building, and, amid a rain of shot, raised the flag on the turret nearest the foe. It was shot away, and he replaced it. Again it was shot away, and he raised it again. Roberts won the Victoria Cross at Khodagunge, January 2, 1858. He saw in the distance two Sepoys going away with a standard. Putting spurs to his horse, he overtook them. They turned and presented their muskets at him, and one of the men pulled the trigger. It snapped, missing fire, and the Sepoy was cut down by Roberts' sword. The other mutineer rode away, and the young lieutenant brought the standard back to the camp. The same day he rescued a wounded comrade under almost similar circumstances.

After the mutiny Roberts was at Umbeyla, in the frontier campaign, in 1863; in 1867 he had charge of the embarkation of the force for the Abyssinian campaign. In 1871 and 1872 he was the senior staff officer in the Lushai campaign, and from 1875 to 1878 he was quartermaster-general. All his promotions were "for merit."

At the end of 1878 the great opportunity of General Roberts' career came to him. The Ameer of Afghanistan rebelled against the authority of Great Britain, and Roberts was sent, at the head of the army, to subdue him. He carried the enemy's stronghold at Peiwar Kotal with a splendid rush, at odds of almost ten to one. The next year the news of Sir Louis Cavagnari's murder in Kabul horrified Great Britain and Roberts was called upon to lead another avenging force. With 6,000 men he cut his way straight through the hostile land, and in thirty days placed the British flag above the citadel of Kabul, after routing the Afghan army, which outnumbered the British by twelve to one. After reinforcements had been sent to him he began one of the most famous marches in history—over towering mountain ranges and through hostile territory, straight from Kabul to Kandahar—three hundred miles in twenty days. At the end of the march he crushed Ayoob Khan, and the whole Empire rang with praises of the man who a few months before had been almost unknown.

From that time General Roberts advanced to the position of Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Ireland. He was put in command at Madras, then in command of the army in Burmah, and then was made Commander-in-Chief of the British army in India. In the last-named capacity he fortified the northern frontier of Hindustan with a chain of fortresses from end to end; he made both the British and native troops far more effective than ever before; he obtained better rations for the men, and he secured better equipments.

A sad feature of General Roberts' departure for South Africa was that his only son, Lieutenant Roberts, was killed while gallantly attempting to rescue the guns abandoned by General Buller at the battle of Tugela River.

The details of the campaign which gave General Kitchener his peerage are of recent date, so we will only touch upon them briefly, by saying that he carefully planned and admirably carried out the Soudan campaign against the late Khalifa Abdullah which resulted in the British victory at Amdurman and the defeat and death of the so-called Mahdi.

Great Britain did not pass a very happy Christmas. There were few houses in "Merrie England" which were not affected or likely to be affected in some manner by the war, there was mourning throughout the land and the Christmas charities suffered on account of the large sums collected for the relief of the wounded and the assistance of the afflicted families. For the first time in thirteen years, Queen Victoria and the Royal Family passed Christmas day at Windsor Castle. There was an air of sadness at the grand old Castle and all, or nearly all, thoughts were turned towards the beleaguered garrisons of Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking, not to mention the hospital wards of different parts of South Africa, the entrenched forces of the Empire and the newly-made mounds beneath which rested some of the most gallant of the flower of the British army.

Previous to this, December 22, General Roberts had sailed from Southampton for South Africa. Before leaving London, he sent a parting message to the American people, through The Associated Press. It was as follows:

"Circumstances naturally forbid my speaking about the campaign ahead of me, except to say that I have entire confidence in the British soldier and that I believe the traditions of our army will be upheld in South Africa.

"For the friendly interest and sympathy exhibited by many Americans, I am most deeply grateful. I feel sure the justice of our cause merits this. Though we may be at war, I can safely say that no unnecessary harshness and no acts of inhumanity will mar the fair name of this branch of the Anglo-Saxon race.

"I cannot too warmly express my admiration for the spirit which prevails in our colonies. The action of Canada will always be a glorious page in the history of the sons of the Empire. I look for great things from the men she has sent and is sending to the front.

"The reports which indicated that disloyalty exists in the Irish regiments are absolutely untrue. In the hour of danger, my countrymen have ever been among the first to lay down their lives for their Queen and country, and whether it be against the Boers or men of any other nationality, the Irish soldier will be found loyal to his Queen and brave in battle.

"You cannot deny those reports of fresh disloyalty too strongly."

CHAPTER LII.

BRITISH SEIZURES OF SHIPS.

It was announced December 26 that the State Department at Washington, after investigating the complaints of American firms who had shipped large quantities of flour to Lorenzo Marques, Delagoa Bay, in one Dutch and two British ships, which had subsequently been seized by British cruisers on the ground that such consignments were contraband of war, had protested against the action of naval authority.

The vessels seized were the *Beatrice*, the *Mashona*, and the *Maria*. The agents for all these vessels in New York were Norton & Son. Each vessel had on board a full cargo of miscellaneous freight, mostly foodstuffs, consigned to firms in Cape Town and other parts of Cape Colony and Natal, and in Delagoa Bay, the last named port being the end of each ship's voyage.

The British Government, apparently, considered the seizures justified by the provisions of the agreement between Great Britain and the United States in 1794. After prolonged negotiations it was then decided to allow the power desiring to treat provisions as contraband to seize them, and afterward indemnify the owners, adding a reasonable profit.

The United States Secretary of State, Colonel John Hay, said:

"The United States Government has not protested to the Government of Great Britain against certain reported seizures, with the expectation that its protest would immediately remove all embarrassment to shippers of goods to Delagoa Bay. It certainly cannot be expected that, upon a telegraphic statement, from any source except that of an agent of the United States, this Government should proceed as if its function was to promptly cure all difficulties including those incidental to a state of war.

"Upon the receipt of information that certain vessels with American products, owned by American shippers, had been interfered with at Lorenzo Marques, steps were taken to ascertain the facts, and our Consul at Lorenzo Marques was directed to make a report to Ambassador Choate, possibly to form the basis of a remonstrance."

"If the report is true, it is apparent that the British Government has assumed a risk in detaining the flour reported to have been shipped

to Delagoa Bay, and which seems to have been seized in order to prevent it from reaching the enemies of Great Britain. The men who shipped flour to that point, no matter to whom it was shipped, ran some risk. They probably took that into consideration when they sent their ships out to the coast of Africa. I do not know whether the flour was intended for British or Boer use. If Great Britain has taken it, I would assume that it was taken with the expectation of paying for it if it is decided not to be contraband of war."

The State Department at Washington, January 11, received the cabled substance of Great Britain's reply to the United States' representations on the subject of the seizures of American flour. In brief, Great Britain conceded the principles which the United States desired to have established as to the inviolability from seizure of neutral goods in time of war, and went even further in acknowledging that foodstuffs destined for an enemy's country are exempt from seizure or detention when not intended for an enemy's military force. The illegality of the detention of the foodstuffs on the three vessels in question was admitted, which assured the payment of damages for their detention.

The British Government practically conceded every point raised by the United States and acknowledged more than was asked by this country. Great Britain also placed herself on record as not only willing to respect neutral cargoes of foodstuffs bound for a neutral port, but such cargoes destined for an enemy's country when it was plainly indicated that they were not intended for use by the enemy's armed forces. It was said at Washington that if the foodstuffs were in good condition, the restoration of them to the parties to which they were consigned with the payment of the amount of any losses that might have resulted from the delay in delivery, would probably be regarded as a satisfactory settlement. If the cargoes, or any part of them, had become spoiled or damaged after their detention, Great Britain, of course, would be expected to indemnify her owners for the loss. No difficulty would be experienced in arranging a settlement satisfactory to everybody concerned.

At Washington, January 12, at a Cabinet meeting, Secretary Hay read the reply of the British Government to the United States' representations regarding the flour seizures. Members of the Cabinet, after the meeting, said the British answer was entirely satisfactory to our Government.

Field Marshal Lord Roberts and General Lord Kitchener, the new Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in South Africa, and his chief of staff, arrived at Cape Town January 10. The next act in the South African drama was ushered in with the announcement, December 30, that the British cruiser *Magicienne* had captured the German mail-steamer *Bundesrath*, belonging to the German East African line, off Delagoa Bay, and had taken her, as a prize, to Durban.

The *Bundesrath* sailed from Hamburg November 8 for Tanga, East Africa. She was said to have subsequently touched at a port on the Mozambique coast. In any case, when overhauled by the British war-ship, she was adjudged to have contraband of war on board and was seized. Three German officers and twenty men in Khaki uniforms, intending to join the Boers, were stated to be among her passengers.

It was asserted in German Government circles that not only was the British right of search questioned, but that the right of the British to stop passengers, whether they intended to fight for the Boers or not, was strenuously disputed, as the vessel upon which they were was neutral and the territory to which they were proceeding, Delagoa Bay, was also neutral. The German press unanimously condemned the British action.

The British public, naturally, endorsed the seizure of the *Bundesrath*. It had been alleged in London for some time previous that the carelessness of the authorities was responsible for the importation of arms and ammunition, etc., for the Boers by way of Delagoa Bay.

The German people, already considerably enraged by the news of the seizure of the *Bundesrath*, worked themselves into a war fever when it was announced, January 4, that the German Imperial mail-steamer *General*, belonging to the same line as the *Bundesrath*, had been detained at Aden, the British stronghold at the southern entrance of the Red Sea, for the purpose of searching her cargo, which was to be discharged in the hunt for contraband of war, though, according to her owners, her manifest showed she had no contraband of war.

Emperor William, who had been much annoyed by the *Bundesrath* incident, was described as "thoroughly aroused" by the seizure of the *General*, and he instructed the German foreign minister, Count von Buelow, to demand "full reparation for the outrage done to the German flag."

The affair, therefore, began to assume a very serious aspect. Em-

peror William was even said to have sent a private messenger to Queen Victoria with an urgent request that Her Majesty use her influence in the direction of providing immediate redress for the grievances of the German shippers.

Incidentally, the British cruisers had previously captured a third German ship, the Hans Wagner, owned by the Altona Shipping Company, and a fourth, the Herzog, but, for some reason, little or no attention was paid to them, the interest of the German officials and people of Germany being concentrated on the capture of the two Imperial mail-steamers, the Bundesrath and the General.

After considerable delay all the German ships seized were released and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count von Buelow, announced in the Reichstag, January 19, that Great Britain had expressed regret for what had occurred and had promised reparation for the seizure of the ships. All the ships seized were released and, it was said at the time, in no case was contraband of war found on board.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE QUESTION OF DELAGOA BAY.

While Great Britain was preparing for the second campaign against the Boers, the question of Delagoa Bay, Portuguese East Africa, again came to the front. A glance at the map of South Africa will show the reader that Lorenzo Marques, the port of Delagoa Bay, is really the only port of the Transvaal and that it is distant only about 250 miles as the crow flies, and some 300 miles by rail from Pretoria, the Boer capital. Therefore, Delagoa Bay afforded a convenient landing place for an army corps destined to invade the Transvaal, and many experts in military matters pointed out that the quickest and cheapest way to end the war was for Great Britain to purchase or lease Delagoa Bay from Portugal and make it the base of operations against Pretoria, especially as Great Britain was understood to have an agreement with Portugal by which the former had the refusal of the purchase of Delagoa Bay. It was asserted that the Boers were undoubtedly receiving supplies of ammunition, guns and rifles, in addition to valuable recruits, among them being former officers of various foreign armies, and it was clear that Delagoa Bay was the only place where they could be landed.

It was announced from Berlin, December 27, by the Lokal-Anzeiger, that a secret treaty had been concluded between Great Britain, Germany and Portugal, providing for the partition of the Portuguese colonies between the two first mentioned powers. It was added that the treaty would have executive force as soon as the Swiss jurists, Messrs. Blaesi, Hensler and Goldau, gave their decision in the Delagoa arbitration, which was expected to be given in January or February and probably in favor of Great Britain, in which case Portugal would have to pay to Great Britain and the United States an indemnity of £1,900,000. The cession of Delagoa Bay to Great Britain was therefore expected to take place in March.

These statements caused a commotion in several of the European capitals, although a semi-official Berlin news agency, the same day, classed the allegations of the Lokal-Anzeiger as "arbitrary and erroneous guesswork."

In London it was claimed that the statements of the Lokal-Anzeiger

could not be correct as two of the Portuguese possessions said to have been ceded to Germany, Goa and Damão, formed enclaves of the province of Bombay, and it was not likely that Great Britain would give Germany a foothold in India.

The probable facts of the situation, it was said at the time in the best informed circles, were that the Portuguese possessions north and south of the Zambesi would, eventually, be leased to Great Britain and Germany respectively.

Great Britain, from 1820, has disputed the claims of Portugal to the ownership of Delagoa Bay, basing her own claims upon an occupation by the Dutch, of which the reversion fell to her. The question was ultimately referred to the arbitration of the then president of the French republic, Marshal MacMahon, whose award, in 1875, was given in favor of Portugal. Great Britain, however, did not relinquish her aims, and obtained a right of pre-emption under the Anglo-Portuguese agreement of 1891.

The connection of the United States with Delagoa Bay is due to the fact that, in 1883, Colonel McMurdo, an American citizen, obtained from the Portuguese Government a concession for the construction of a railroad from Lorenzo Marques to Komatipoort, on the Transvaal border, and some four years later he formed a company to build the line. Colonel McMurdo died before the railroad was completed, and the Portuguese took advantage of a technical breach of the contract, in the non-completion of the line, to cancel the concession and confiscate the line, June 24, 1889. The stockholders objected to the seizure of their property, and it is their claim upon which the Swiss arbitrators are now expected to render a decision shortly.

In the Portuguese House of Peers, January 3, the Chief of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Count de San Miguel, said that Portugal would maintain to the utmost her neutrality between Great Britain and the Transvaal. No information, he added, had been received of the transit through Lorenzo Marques of war material or men destined for the Boers. Touching upon the reported Anglo-German treaty, Count de San Miguel said it would be impossible for Portugal to make such a treaty without the knowledge of the Cortes.

Senator Lejeune, a former Minister of Justice and member of the Belgian Council of State, presided at a meeting in Brussels, January 4, of a committee formed to organize a movement in Belgium in support

of an address to President McKinley appealing to him to mediate in favor of peace between Great Britain and the South African republics. After a long discussion it was decided to place a petition for signature, January 7, in all the cafes in Brussels and the provincial towns. The petition to President McKinley read as follows:

"M. le President: Rightly moved by the bloody and terrible struggle in South Africa between two of the most civilized peoples of the world, the undersigned address a most pressing appeal to Your Excellency in favor of mediation, which you alone can offer. They beg you to fulfill the sacred duty of human brotherhood."

The State Department of Washington explained, January 4, that no request that the United States Government use its good offices to bring about an ending of the South African war had been made by the governments of the South African republics.

It was added that a great many suggestions of that character had come from unofficial bodies, such as Holland Societies, and the Clanna-Gael, but the Department had taken no action in regard to these, other than to acknowledge their receipt. The Government of the United States, it was further asserted, intended to adhere to its attitude of non-interference and would not consider any request for the tender of its mediation unless the request was made by both belligerent parties.

The year 1900 was ushered in, so far as Great Britain was concerned, with the news of three slight successes for the British arms near the Orange Free State border, which served to raise the spirits of the loyalists in Cape Colony, stem the tide of Dutch disaffection and render the British generally more hopeful of a successful issue of the campaign. These feelings were intensified by the announcement that the military men estimated that General Roberts, when ready to begin operations against the Boers, would have 200,000 men, all told, under his command. In spite of this, there were experts in war matters who figured that 250,000 troops would be needed to crush the Boers.

The first ray of sunshine for the British came from General Gatacre's camp, in an announcement that he had re-occupied Dordrecht December 30, and had repulsed an attack made December 31 on that place by the Boers. The losses on either side were not severe.

The second was when General French reported having successfully turned the Boer position near Colesburg, which compelled a portion of the Boer force to retreat in the direction of Norval's bridge and

Bortha's Drift. This, however, it developed later, was only a temporary success, as General French's small force, some 2,500 mounted men, infantry in wagons and horse-artillery, was unable to follow up its advantage against the Boer forces, as the latter were said to number over 6,000 men and soon again became aggressive. But it was pointed out that the British had by this time learned that mobile troops, cavalry, mounted infantry and horse-artillery were more effective against the Boers, especially when used to turn the flanks of positions, than the hurling of infantry, however brave and well-disciplined, against strongly fortified hills defended by such splendid marksmen as the Burghers of the two South African republics.

As the Dordrecht success of the British was due to the skillful use of cavalry, there were renewed demands in the British press for the despatch of more cavalry to the front, and, incidentally, there were still further complaints against the British war office and the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Wolseley, with intimations from his circle that if the attacks upon him were continued he might make up his mind to defend himself, in which case, it was added, others, in higher authority, would be placed in an unpleasant position.

The third silver-lined cloud was the capture of a Boer camp and forty prisoners at Sunnyside, near Belmont, January 1. This was the first time the Colonial troops of Great Britain were under fire. All later reports joined in saying they behaved most gallantly, laughing and chaffing one another while exchanging shots with the Boers and setting a good example to the regular troops in never wasting a shot. The Toronto contingent particularly distinguished itself by its coolness and steady shooting, which earned for the Canadians the unqualified praise of all. The British newspapers warmly praised them. The Queensland contingent also came in for many laudatory remarks in and out of the press. Colonel Pilcher's force, the next day, occupied Douglas, eastward of the British position, on the Modder River, but he soon afterward evacuated the place and returned to Belmont.

CHAPTER LIV.

BOERS REPULSED AT LADYSMITH.

There was a break in the clouds hovering over the British Empire, January 8, 1900, when the war office at London announced that after seventeen hours of most determined fighting, the garrison of Ladysmith had repulsed a most gallant attack of the Boers, during which the latter three times captured British trenches and were as often driven out of them at the point of the bayonet. In addition, the Boers captured one British position and held it nearly all day, only to be driven out, at the bayonet's point, during a rainstorm the same night. During the fighting thirteen British officers were killed and twenty-seven wounded. The casualties among the rank and file were 135 killed and 242 wounded. The Boer loss was estimated at 2,000 to 3,000 men, probably a decided exaggeration.

The following was General White's official report of the engagement:

"An attack was begun on my position, January 6, but was chiefly against Caesar's Camp and Wagon Hill. The enemy was in great strength and pushed the attack with the greatest courage and energy. Some of our entrenchments on Wagon Hill were three times taken by the enemy and retaken by us. The attack continued until 7:30. One point in our position was occupied by the enemy the whole day. But at dusk, in a very heavy rainstorm, they were turned out of this position at the point of the bayonet, in a most gallant manner, by the Devons, led by Colonel Park. Colonel Ian Hamilton commanded on Wagon Hill and rendered valuable services. The troops have had a very trying time and have behaved excellently. They are elated at the service they have rendered to the Queen.

"The enemy were repulsed everywhere with very heavy loss, greatly exceeding that on my side, which will be reported as soon as the lists are completed."

This news came as a cooling shower or fresh wind in blistering summer time to the British, who had steeled themselves to hear the worst. There was no wavering, though the troops at the front were somewhat

"tired" by being led in masses against almost impregnable positions. But the British taxpayer began to murmur at the prospective bill, and the feeling against the Government officials held responsible for the situation became more and more bitter, though patriotism prevented popular outbursts.

The Boers and the British may be said to have passed the time between January 8 and January 22 in praying for victory, for it was the crucial moment of the campaign. Little or no war news had leaked out from any of the camps, excepting the announcements that General Buller's forces in Natal had occupied positions on the Boers' west flank, and were moving slowly toward Ladysmith, and that General French, in Cape Colony, had succeeded in holding positions on the east flank of the Orange Free State force confronting him.

The lack of warlike despatches did not serve to raise the spirits of the British, while it gave rise to the circulation of additional real or imaginary stories tending to show that the military machinery of Great Britain was apparently badly clogged.

It looked about the middle of January as if the British, disgusted with the inaction of the generals and bowed down with humiliation at their reverses, were determined to wash all the dirty linen of the army and hang it out to dry before the world at large. Lord Wolseley was said not to be on speaking terms with the war secretary and to have been jealous of Lord Roberts, who was appointed to the supreme command in South Africa without his knowledge; General Yule, who led the terrible retreat from Dundee and Glencoe, was reported to have become insane—he, certainly, was invalided shortly after he reached Ladysmith; General Methuen was classed as being of unsound mind, and several instances of his alleged mental eccentricities were cited. In addition, General Gatacre was reported to have broken down under the strain of the campaign, and General Barton, who commanded a brigade at the battle of Tugela River, was invalided home. Finally, it was rumored that the health of General Buller was not what it might be and that his return home was anticipated.

The outcry against the military officials of the Empire was supplemented by further showers of abuse heaped upon the heads of the Government officials. The London Times, Standard, Post and Daily Telegraph, the staunchest of the Conservative newspapers and up to that time the strongest supporters of the Government, turned their edi-

torial guns on the Salisbury Cabinet after the Government leader in the House of Commons, Mr. A. J. Balfour, the First Lord of the Treasury, had delivered three remarkably flippant speeches at Manchester. In a weak and frivolous manner, Mr. Balfour attempted to take up the defense of the Government but, instead of accomplishing his object, he stirred the British nation into furious disgust and indignation. His so-called defense of the policy of the Cabinet was, in brief, that the Government was not responsible for any of the mishaps in South Africa and, in defending the War Office, Mr. Balfour asserted that it was utterly impossible for the Government to have acted sooner than it did, as "public opinion had not been unanimous in support of warlike preparations" and, he added, "unanimity is worth many army corps." Incidentally, Mr. Balfour admitted the Jameson raid was the cause of all the trouble.

Parliament was summoned to reassemble January 30 and there were people who predicted that the Conservatives would be swept out of office beneath a tidal wave of bitter popular condemnation. The more calm-minded, however, reminded the public of the danger of swapping horses while crossing a stream, and urged that no vote of censure be passed against the Government until the tide of victory had turned in favor of Great Britain.

While the people were being excited or calmed, as the case might be, by hot-headed or wise suggestions, several rods were placed in pickle. Two or three members of Parliament announced their intention of moving the appointment of a Parliamentary committee to further enquire into the Jameson raid and, particularly, into Mr. Chamberlain's connection with that piratical venture, and another member of Parliament proclaimed his determination to urge, at the proper time, the appointment of a committee of the House of Commons to investigate the War Office and the British military system as a whole.

Outside of Great Britain, the political atmosphere was clearer, though the storm clouds had not disappeared. Though the United States was apparently satisfied with the outline of the British reply on the subject of the flour seizures, Germany was fretting and fuming over the seizure of German ships, Portugal was urged to make a more careful examination of passengers and freight landed at Lorenzo Marques, Delagoa Bay; France was advising calm in view of the approaching opening of the exhibition of 1900, the Czar of Russia reiterated his

strong desire for peace, and Italy, showing her friendship for Great Britain in the latter's hour of need, was enabling her to obtain from Italian sources much-needed batteries of long-range field-pieces equal to those of the Boers, France and Germany having prevented their manufacturers of ordnance from assisting the British in any way, on the ground that to do so would be a breach of strict neutrality.

Queen Wilhelmina, of Holland, had all along been intensely pro-Boer in her sympathies. She wrote to the Pope and to the King of Italy asking them to assume the diplomatic initiative in attempting to put "a stop to this cruel, fratricidal war." She openly showed favor to Dr. Leyds, the Diplomatic Agent in Europe of the Boers, and he was enabled, through his agents, to purchase and ship munitions of war to the Transvaal and to enlist officers and others without any hindrance.

In England a meeting of Non-conformist clergymen was held at Exeter Hall, in the interests of peace, and, besides, a South African Conciliation committee was organized, including among its members many prominent men.

At their meeting, the Non-conformist ministers passed two resolutions. The first pronounced the war "a scandal to Christendom and a disgrace to civilization." The second resolution demanded the dismissal of Mr. Chamberlain from office as Colonial Secretary.

The Transvaal Government, early in January, formally notified the Government at Washington that it could not permit Mr. W. Stanley Hollis, the acting United States Consul at Pretoria, to represent the interests of Great Britain in the South African Republic during the period of the war in the fullest sense of such representation, but that he would, in his personal capacity, be allowed to continue to care for the British prisoners of war in confinement in Pretoria. The only reason given by the Boers for this action was that they did not want any British representative in their territory. This was regarded as being somewhat discourteous. It was argued that civilized nations had so long recognized neutral representation of an enemy's interests in time of war, that the practice had come to be regarded as a matter of right.

Reviewing the situation, it is necessary to say that at the beginning of the South African war Mr. Charles E. Macrum, then the United States Consul at Pretoria, was instructed by the State Department, at the instance of the British Government, to apply to the Boer authorities for recognition as the representative of the British interests in the

Transvaal for the war period, and recognition was given to him as the British representative ad interim. Later, when British prisoners were beginning to arrive at Pretoria, the Transvaal Government informed Mr. Macrum that the care of these prisoners was a military matter, in charge of the Boer commanders in the field, and that his consular jurisdiction did not extend to communication with them. Mr. Macrum, before this decision was made known to him, applied, under instructions from the State Department, which had received a request on the subject from the British Government, for lists of the British prisoners and a weekly statement showing the condition of the sick and wounded among them. Representations were made by the United States to the Transvaal authorities, which practically amounted to a protest against their refusal to permit Mr. Macrum to continue his humanitarian efforts. The Boers paid no attention to this protest until just before the departure of Mr. Macrum from Pretoria, when he was officially notified that the lists desired would be furnished, not to him, but to the British Minister of War whenever applied for. This was construed in Washington as an attempt on the part of the Boers to obtain recognition of the South African Republic by the British Government as an independent state.

Mr. Hollis was the United States Consul at Lorenzo Marques, and, on the departure of Mr. Macrum for the United States, he was ordered to Pretoria to serve as the American representative until Adelbert S. Hay, the new Consul, arrived there. Mr. Hay sailed from England for South Africa December 30.

The Government of the United States was at first inclined to resent the refusal of the Boers to permit Mr. Macrum to exercise the functions usually pertaining to a representative of the interests of a belligerent, but it was decided that the attitude of the Transvaal authorities was due to their unfamiliarity with the courtesies recognized between friendly nations in such circumstances, though in some quarters there was a disposition to interpret the attitude of the Boers as a hint that the Transvaal regarded the United States Government as a British sympathizer. There was no question, however, of the right of the Boers to refuse to recognize an officer of a neutral nation as the representative of an enemy's interests in the Transvaal.

CHAPTER LV.

BULLER'S RELIEF MOVE DEFEATED.

A feeling of deadly apprehension spread throughout the British Empire during the week of January 22-27, 1900. General Buller's movement against the right, or west flank of the Boer army contesting his advance towards Ladysmith, which began January 10, was known to be reaching a climax, and, instead of being confident of victory, the British people, in view of what had already occurred, prepared to hear the worst. Thus there was a great feeling of relief, January 27, when the news was flashed from the front that General Warren's brigade, forming part of General Buller's forces, after, for days previously, driving the Boers from ridge to ridge, captured Spion Kop, a central hill, said to be the key to the Boer position, January 24. It was added that this rendered the other Boer positions untenable. It developed, however, that this was another terrible blunder on the part of somebody. The Boers, instead of being driven back from ridge to ridge and finally losing their strongest position, Spion Kop, owing to the British having taken them by surprise, really led the British on, step by step, until they reached the eastern and western ridges of Spion Kop, which were commanded by Boer guns, while in the center of the mountain the Boers held a strongly entrenched position. The British were thus exposed to the fire of the Boers from three sides, and were unable to bring artillery up the steep hills or obtain water, though they had been informed that there was plenty of water on the top of Spion Kop. The result was that the British were compelled to abandon the captured positions before the dawn of January 25, and General Buller's army, estimated to number some 25,000 men, with the exception of General Lyttleton's brigade, was compelled to retreat across the Tugela River, after suffering heavy losses.

General Buller announced his defeat in the following despatch:

"Spearman's Camp, Saturday, January 27, 6:10 p. m.—On January 20 Warren drove back the enemy and obtained possession of the southern crests of the high tableland extending from the line of Acton Homes and Hongers Poort to the western Ladysmith hills. From then to January 25 he remained in close contact with the enemy.

"The enemy held a strong position on a range of small kopjes stretching from northwest to southeast across the plateau from Acton Homes, through Spion Kop, to the left bank of the Tugela.

"The actual position held was perfectly tenable, but did not lend itself to an advance, as the southern slopes were so steep that Warren could not get an effective artillery position, and water supply was a difficulty.

"On January 23 I assented to his attacking Spion Kop, a large hill, indeed a mountain, which was evidently the key of the position, but was far more accessible from the north than from the south.

"On the night of January 23 he attacked Spion Kop, but found it very difficult to hold, as its perimeter was too large, and water, which he had been led to believe existed, in this extraordinarily dry season was found very deficient.

"The crests were held all that day against severe attacks and a heavy shell fire. Our men fought with great gallantry. Would especially mention the conduct of the Second Cameronians and the Third King's Rifles, who supported the attack on the mountain from the steepest side, and, in each case, fought their way to the top, and the Second Lancashire Fusiliers and Second Middlesex, who magnificently maintained the best traditions of the British army throughout the trying day of January 24, and Thornycroft's Mounted Infantry, who fought throughout the day equally well alongside of them.

"General Woodgate, who was in command at the summit, having been wounded, the officer who succeeded him (Colonel Thornycroft) decided, on the night of January 24, to abandon the position, and did so before dawn, January 25.

"I reached Warren's camp at 5 a. m., on January 25, and decided that a second attack on Spion Kop was useless, and that the enemy's right was too strong to allow me to force it.

"Accordingly, I decided to withdraw the forces to the south of the Tugela. At six a. m. we commenced withdrawing the train, and by eight a. m., January 27 (Saturday), Warren's force was concentrated south of the Tugela without the loss of a man or a pound of stores.

"The fact that the force could withdraw from actual touch (in some cases the lines were less than a thousand yards apart) with the enemy in the manner it did is, I think, sufficient evidence of the morale of the troops; and that we were permitted to withdraw our cumbrous ox and

mule transport across the river, eighty-five yards broad, with twenty-foot banks, and a very swift current, unmolested, is, I think, proof that the enemy has been taught to respect our soldiers' fighting powers."

The tone of this General's despatch was severely criticised by the English newspapers. The St. James' Gazette said:

"General Buller's reflections on the terrors he put into the foe, reminds us of things we have heard about Chinese Mandarins."

British advices said that the troops who had surrendered had exhausted their ammunition.

The Boers claimed the British left 1,500 killed on the field of battle.

The British, though astounded at the news of General Buller's defeat, showed no signs of anything but a stubborn determination to carry on the war, at all hazards and with renewed vigor, though General White's gallant little army at Ladysmith was looked upon as lost.

The movement attempted by General Buller's forces was a most difficult task for any troops, under any conditions, and in the face of such an enemy as the Boers, it was impossible to carry it out with 25,000. It would have been hazardous if the opposing forces had been even equal in number, whereas the burghers were said to have greatly outnumbered the British.

On the Boer flank a long ridge ran four miles to the northwest of Trichard's Drift, ascending from the river. The ridge leads into spurs of the mountains, making the boundary of Natal and the Orange Free State. On the right of the British, as they advanced, lay the mountain of Spion Kop, facing the river, with precipitous sides, but more accessible from the north by a series of summits leading to its real head. The country on either side swarmed with hills favorable for guerilla warfare, and the Boer entrenchments extended along to Brakfontein and eastward to Colenso and the Tugela. Eight Boer camps were located by the British along this line of defence.

Independent reports showed that the main position of the Boers lay to the west of Spion Kop, and it is clear that the British were unable to get sufficiently to the west of the Boer positions to make a really flanking movement. Therefore, there was nothing left but to force their way through. The advance was slow, the Boers stubbornly contesting every foot of ground. But the British bivouacked on the ground they had won, though this was within the fire distance of the Boer lines. The British loss, up to that point, had not been heavy,

but only three miles progress had been made, and in front was an open glaxis. There appeared, then, but one chance for attacking this position under the storm of bullets. If Spion Kop could be taken, artillery from its dominant height might sweep the Boer entrenchments on either side.

Under cover of nightfall, preparations were made for the ascent of Spion Kop. To approach it there was a natural glaxis three-quarters of a mile wide. Then five hundred feet had to be climbed up a steep slope. The rest has already been told.

The British reached the top of Spion Kop only to find they had been led into a trap, and that they could not hold the positions won.

There was only a faint ray of sunshine through the gloom of Great Britain. It consisted of the statement, made January 27, on good Transvaal authority, that Mafeking had been relieved by the Rhodesian force, under General Plumer from Fort Tuli, on January 23.

All important military operations against the Boers were looked upon, January 29, as ended for some time to come, though General Buller said he contemplated another attack. The general opinion was that, Buller's campaign having failed, Field Marshal Lord Roberts, who had no hand in the movement, it having been planned and commenced while he was on his way to Cape Town, would begin concentrating the British troops in South Africa, and move over the plains on Bloemfontein and Pretoria, even if Kimberley and Ladysmith had to be sacrificed in carrying out the plan.

The British Parliament reassembled January 3. The speeches made by the cabinet ministers and opposition leaders were colorless, but the latter announced their intention of supporting the Government in pushing the campaign against the Boers to a successful termination, while waiting for the proper time to thoroughly investigate the cause of the struggle, the unpreparedness of Great Britain for the conflict, and the various charges against the generals and Government officials.

The ministers contented themselves with weak but effective appeals to the patriotism of the country.

The English newspapers were much disappointed by the war debate in Parliament and all the utterances of the public men. Great Britain appeared to be entirely without real leaders, and it seemed that those who should have stood boldly in the front at such a crisis had nothing better to do than indulge in party recriminations.

There was loud talking of sending another 100,000 men to South Africa if necessary; but, as a matter of fact, the limit of the Empire's military power seemed to have been reached. It became known that the Cabinet, January 27, seriously discussed the mobilization of the fleet and decided not to send the eighth division of the army to South Africa until further security of the coast had been obtained by naval preparations. The Channel Squadron, instead of returning to Gibraltar, as originally intended, was ordered to assemble February 5 off Eddystone Light and proceed to Bantry Bay "for a fortnight's exercises off the Irish coast." This really meant that though reinforcements were urgently needed in South Africa, it was not deemed safe to send any more troops out of Great Britain until the home defences had been further strengthened.

Russia, in the meantime, had taken advantage of Great Britain's weakness. It was announced from St. Petersburg, January 30, that a Russian syndicate, termed the Loan Bank of Persia, had agreed to take up a Persian loan of 22,500,000 roubles (\$17,578,125) repayable in seventy-five years and guaranteed by all the Persian customs receipts, except the revenues of the custom houses of the Persian Gulf. This was interpreted in diplomatic circles to mean that Persia had virtually become Russian.

In short, the position of the British Empire was that of a strong man badly whipped by a weak antagonist and, contrary to expectation, failing to show the recuperative power, mental or physical, calculated to win victory from defeat.

Under the circumstances, it is not extraordinary that the feeling in favor of the Boers in the United States was steadily growing. Meetings expressing sympathy with the struggling Republics were held in various parts of the country and steps were taken to raise funds in their behalf. The attitude of the United States Government, however, remained strictly neutral.

At this stage of the war, Great Britain had lost about 10,000 men, namely, 2,500 killed, 2,500 captured and 5,000 wounded. She had about 160,000 men in the field, and 20,000 additional troops, with 155 more guns, were on their way to Cape Town.

The Boers, it was estimated, had not lost more than 2,500 men in killed and wounded, and less than 500 burghers had been captured by the British.

CHAPTER LVI.

OPENING OF LORD ROBERTS' CAMPAIGN.

When the fifth month of the South African war opened, February 11, 1900, the outlook for the British was far from bright, though the people of Great Britain were in a more cheerful mood, due to the hopes of the nation being centered on Field Marshal Lord Roberts and his Chief-of-Staff, General Lord Kitchener, who were then at the Modder River camp, apparently engaged in preparing for an invasion of the Orange Free State territory and an advance on Bloemfontein.

General Buller's forces, February 3, again crossed the Tugela River in another attempt to relieve Ladysmith, and eventually occupied a ridge at Vaal Krantz, north of the Tugela River and to the eastward of Spion Kop. The British, after entrenching themselves at Vaal Krantz February 5, held that position until the night of February 7, when, the Boers' artillery having rendered it untenable, they evacuated it and once more retired south of the Tugela, thus ending General Buller's third attempt to relieve Ladysmith.

The British War Office, February 13, issued a list of the casualties among the non-commissioned officers and men at Vaal Krantz, showing that 24 were killed, 322 were wounded and 5 were missing. The Boer losses were not made public.

At the Modder River there had been a somewhat similar experience. General Hector Macdonald, with the Highland Brigade and a force of cavalry and artillery, was ordered, February 4, to take up a position, threatening the left of the Boer army, at Koodoosberg Drift, and succeeded in doing so. The Boers were reinforced from the Zulani Laager, and made an attack on the British position at dawn, February 7, with mounted infantry and artillery, but were beaten off by the Highlanders. During the day General Macdonald was reinforced by a detachment of cavalry, and the Boers retreated. It was said that if the British reinforcements had arrived two hours earlier the Boers' retreat would have been cut off. However, "somebody blundered," the cavalry arrived too late, and when they did reach the scene of the fighting they were so exhausted that pursuit of the Burghers was impossible.

Along the line of the British communications, between the Modder River camp and the base of supplies, the Boers had begun to exhibit considerable activity. They outflanked General French's forces at Rensburg, February 8, and threatened his communications with Slingersfontein, though they were compelled to retire.

Skirmishes along the Cape Colony frontier were numerous, and in nearly all cases the Boers outwitted or outfought the British, though the Australian troops distinguished themselves gallantly upon several occasions.

Measures to strengthen the British army, the regulars by 30,000 and the auxiliary forces by 50,000 men, were announced in Parliament February 12, and it was then estimated that by February 15 about 200,000 men would be under the command of Lord Roberts in South Africa, quite a jump from the 25,000 which the Government at first believed would be sufficient to uphold the supremacy of Great Britain in South Africa.

The active campaign of Lord Roberts against the Boers may be said to have opened February 11, four months from the outbreak of hostilities. The first news, February 13, from his Modder River camp was that General Elliott Wood had seized Zoutpan's Drift, in the Orange Free State, a point occupied January 6 and subsequently abandoned by the British. But, the same day it was announced that all the British outposts about Colesberg had been driven back by the Boers and that the British, after abandoning position after position, had retreated on Rensburg, thus apparently undoing all the work which General French had accomplished during six weeks of skillful manoeuvring. Besides this, it was said the position of the British at Rensburg was far from secure, and that it was doubtful whether General Clements, who had succeeded General French in command of the British troops in that district, would be able to hold the place.

The chief of the British positions about Colesberg was Cole's Kop, a peak higher than any of the surrounding hills. The British guns there had been described as dominating the Boer positions. The Boers mounted a 40-pounder at Bastard's Nek, within range of Cole's Kop, whence by excellent shooting, sometimes at 9,000 yards, they compelled the British to retire from one post after another.

The fighting lasted for two days, and the losses of the Boers, who were said to have outnumbered the British five to one, were very great.

A Boer Creusot gun, west of Slingsfontein, was smashed by a British howitzer, but the Imperial forces had to fall back to Rensburg. All reports concurred in saying the Boers in that vicinity had been greatly reinforced from several points, especially Magersfontein.

The next news from Lord Roberts was made public February 14. It was a despatch from the Reit River, Orange Free State, dated February 13, announcing that the British Cavalry Division under General French had seized a crossing of the Reit River, February 12, on the east bank of which, it was added, the Sixth and Seventh Divisions of the British army were then encamped.

The news from General Roberts began to reach the outer world regularly and in clear terms. It was shown that General French, during the afternoon of February 13, forced the passage of the Modder River at Klip Drift, suffering only slight losses, occupied the hills north of the river and captured three Boer laagers. The march to Klip Drift, which is about twenty-five miles from Dekiel's Drift, was accomplished in six hours in spite of terrific heat and a blinding dust-storm.

While this movement was in progress, General Gordon, with a detachment of British cavalry, seized Rondevaal Drift, four miles west of Klip Drift. He also secured another drift between there and Klip Drift and captured two Boer laagers. About 20,000 British infantry were then sent to support the cavalry.

General Roberts' initial moves were well conceived and brilliantly executed. At one stroke all the Boer lines of communication were cut or threatened, and the British commander seemed to have the choice of fighting-ground.

The general understanding was that Lord Roberts had about 50,000 men under his immediate command at the Modder River when he began the invasion of the Free State, consisting of 40,000 infantry, 7,000 cavalry and 150 guns. It was announced that he moved into the Republic with about half this force, leaving the bulk of the other 25,000 at the Modder River.

The next news of any importance from the seat of war was the announcement of the relief of Kimberley, which caused satisfaction throughout the British Empire. The following dispatch told the story:

"Jacobsdal, Feb. 16.—2 a. m.—French, with a force of artillery, cavalry and mounted infantry, reached Kimberley last (Thursday) evening."

As a result of the successful flanking movement of the British, the Burghers about Kimberley hastily abandoned their positions and retreated, their main body making for Bloemfontein, closely pursued by General Kelly-Kenny's Brigade, and part of their forces escaping northward. It was said that had it not been for twenty-four hours' delay, caused by the difficulty in getting the transport-wagons over Dikiel's Drift, the army of General Cronje would have been surrounded. As it was, the half-finished meals found in the trenches of the Boers and the fact that they left some of their big guns behind them showed how completely they were taken by surprise. The Boer positions about Kimberley and at Magersfontein were occupied by the British and the movement of Lord Roberts' army into the Free State was continued.

In the meanwhile, the British had retired from Rensburg to Arundel; but there Generals Brabant, Clements and Gatacre made a stand, the retiring movements having, it was explained, been made for strategic reasons, and in Natal General Buller apparently began his fourth attempt to relieve Ladysmith, this time advancing in a northeasterly direction, capturing Hussar Hill, and, later, attacking the Boers entrenched on Hlangwana Hill and capturing the southern end of Monte Christo Hill.

During the retreat of the Boers before Lord Roberts' advance they fought a number of rear-guard actions, occupying hill after hill in order to allow the moving of their transport train. They were also repeatedly compelled to form laagers and were then shelled by the British artillery, and General Kelly-Kenny captured 150 wagons and 1,500 head of oxen. Among the ammunition captured were many boxes marked "Pretoria, via Delagoa Bay."

Lord Roberts, from Jacobsdal, issued a proclamation to the Burghers of the Free State, saying he felt it his duty to make known to them the cause of the coming of the British, as well as to do all in his power to terminate the devastation caused by the war and so that the Burghers, should they continue fighting, might not do so ignorantly, but with a full knowledge of their responsibility before God for the lives lost in the campaign. He warned all Burghers to desist from further acts of hostility toward Her Majesty's Government and troops, and gave directions regarding requisitions and complaints.

CHAPTER LVII.

THE SURRENDER OF GENERAL CRONJE.

The relief of Kimberley was followed by ten days of hard marching, manoeuvring, fighting and sapping, during which the Boers displayed their usual stubborn courage and the British fought gallantly and endured hardships in a most praiseworthy manner. The result was the unconditional surrender, February 27 (Majuba Day), of General Cronje and about 4,000 of his men to Field Marshal Lord Roberts, near Paardeberg, making about 5,000 prisoners captured by the British since Lord Roberts' campaign began. Lord Roberts also captured about 5,000 rifles and four 7.5 centimetre Krupps, nine one-pounders and two Maxim guns. This was a very severe blow to the Boers, especially as Ladysmith was relieved the next day by the forces of General Buller, which caused enthusiastic rejoicing throughout the British Empire. The two successes served to somewhat re-establish the prestige of British arms, and undoubtedly had a wonderfully invigorating effect upon the troops of Great Britain.

During the pursuit of General Cronje's forces by General Kelly-Kenny and, later, by the British Cavalry Brigade under General French, both sides exhibited great pluck and endurance. Gradually the British converged towards a wide bend in the Modder River, near Paardeberg, and there the Boers decided to make their stand, hoping in time to receive sufficient reinforcements to enable them to fight a pitched battle.

Eventually, the position was as follows: Cronje was to the south and Snyman and Fourie to the north. The British Sixth Division, under General Kelly-Kenny, occupied a position to the southeast, and General French arrived February 18 in time to complete the enclosure of the Boers.

The Ninth Division of the British, especially the Highland Brigade, had the hardest fighting. They arrived on the scene at midnight February 17, after a forced march from Jacobsdal, in time to see Boer rockets signalling the whereabouts of General Cronje's army to the expected reinforcements. The British saw other rockets and knew an

enemy was near, but could not decide whether it was Boer reinforcements that were giving the answering signals.

At dawn the Ninth Division advanced and its mounted infantry soon encountered Boer sharpshooters who were sheltered in the trees covering the banks of the river.

Early in the forenoon the Boers brought a Hotchkiss gun over the veldt from King's Kop to the southern bank of the river and used it with deadly effect over this ground, which the Ninth had to cross.

General Hector Macdonald, commander of the Highland Brigade, dismounted and led the advance, during which he was hit by a bullet in the foot while the Highlanders were struggling through a storm of bullets toward the bushes. The Seaforth Highlanders lost heavily. Near the top of a slope, opposite the Boer laager, the Seaforths and the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry drove the Boers from cover around the drift and bayoneted several of them who had been shooting from trees. Then the Highlanders waded waist-deep through the river and held the northwest side with the Gordons, while the Canadians were held in reserve.

At this point the Cornwalls also suffered severely. They lost their colonel and adjutant, and had ninety-six casualties.

The Sixth Division got into an engagement before noon with a strong force of Boers which was trying to escape to the south bank of the river. The West Riding Regiment (the Duke of Wellington's) repelled this attempt at the point of the bayonet, but suffered considerably, as did the Mounted Infantry on another part of the field.

While this fighting was in progress the British artillery shelled the Boer laager, which was soon on fire in many places, and General French's cavalry dashed in rapidly from the north, in the afternoon, and began sending in deadly volleys.

Crowds of Boers were thus driven from the river banks, and when darkness came on General Cronje was surrounded. Boer prisoners declared that he lost 900 men in the day's fighting.

The British Seventh Division, under General Tucker, and a naval brigade arrived February 19, and the shelling of the Boer laager was resumed. There were also a few infantry engagements and the Boers were driven into the ravines and bushes around their laager.

Cronje's laager was full of wagons loaded with ammunition and stores, which could be plainly seen near the north bank. Colonel

Smith-Dorrien, later, collected a large body of men, including the Canadians, crossed the river by Paardeberg Drift and advanced toward the laager, which shelled them vigorously. Here the body made a gallant attempt to charge into the laager, but failed.

Toward evening the British battery on the south side opened fire, co-operating with the battery on the north side. The shells fell with wonderful precision along the river bed, forcing the enemy back until they reached the bed of the river opposite the laager, which was shelled thoroughly, everything it contained being damaged. The infantry, too, kept up a terrible fire, which was answered vigorously. The whole scene toward nightfall was terribly picturesque. Wagons were blazing, and the roar of the artillery mingled with the crackle of the infantry fire.

The British lost about 800 men in killed, wounded and missing during the fighting of February 18, and the Boers admitted having lost quite as many killed and wounded. The British captured about 500 prisoners, who were sent to Kimberley and, eventually, to Cape Town.

The morning of February 19 broke with the Boers in the same place, they having during the night constructed entrenchments around the laager, which was still threatened by Smith-Dorrien. The British infantry rested after the terribly hard day's fighting the previous day.

The mounted infantry and a battery of horse-artillery started to observe the enemy, who was still holding a kopje, but while riding around the southern side of the kopje they received a heavy fusillade and were obliged to move farther out. Pushing out, the detachment found that the kopje extended a considerable distance west, sloping gradually to the plain.

They seized a good defensive position, which was garrisoned; continued the movement and completely turned the Boers, whose left was held by a detachment in a farmhouse, which was vigorously shelled.

The British force returned to camp at nightfall, leaving a garrison on the ridge. Meanwhile, a desultory bombardment of the Boer position was kept up, and a good deal of rifle fire concentrated where the Essexes were attempting to rush up the river. Lord Roberts arrived that day and addressed several regiments. He was vigorously cheered.

Early in the day General Cronje asked for a twenty-four hours' armistice to bury his dead. General Kitchener, who was directing the operations, refused, and a little later came another messenger with word

to the effect that if the British were inhuman enough to refuse an armistice to bury the dead, General Cronje saw no other course but to surrender.

On receipt of this message Kitchener proceeded to the Boer laager to arrange the capitulation, but he was met by a messenger, who announced that General Cronje said that the whole thing was a mistake; that he had not the slightest intention of surrendering, but would fight until he died.

General Kitchener then returned and ordered a bombardment of the Boer position. Three field-batteries and a howitzer-battery took position directly in front of the laager and began a terribly accurate fire, the howitzers using lyddite shells freely and dropping them with marvelous precision into the very bed of the river, filling the trenches with terrible fumes and green smoke, but the enemy held grimly on.

Tuesday, February 20, was the third day of the grand defense of General Cronje and his heroic band. The British infantry engaged the Boers in the bed of the river, driving them back a short distance. Every opportunity had been given the enemy to surrender, and when, in the afternoon, they gave no sign of doing so, Lord Roberts determined to crush Cronje's resistance. On the south bank of the river he placed in position, at a range of 2,000 yards, the Eighteenth, Sixty-second and Seventy-fifth field-batteries and two naval 12-pounders. On the north bank, and enfilading the whole river, were placed the Sixty-fifth Howitzer battery, the Seventy-sixth, Eighty-first and Eighty-second field-batteries and three naval 4.7-inch guns. A terrible scene followed. The British guns simultaneously poured shot and shell on the Boer position, which was about a mile square. The lyddite shells raised great clouds of green smoke, which filled the bed of the river, while shrapnel burst on the edge of each bank. Yet, in a spirit of desperate madness, now and again the Boers attempted sniping shots at the British naval gunners, while the long line of three British batteries belched forth death, and on each side of them lay two battalions of infantry, whose Maxims sounded petty beside the roaring big guns.

The fourth day of the siege opened February 21 with a terrific rifle fire. It developed that the Gloucesters and Essexes had lost their way on a movement during the night and had bivouacked close to the Boer laager on the north side of the river. As soon as they were perceived

the Boers opened a hot fire on them, and kept it up until the troops engaged were in a safer position.

All day long there was firing on both the north and south banks of the river. General Knox's Brigade held and pushed forward the line south of the river, General Smith-Dorrien, on the north side, worked toward the laager, and General French advanced, in a far easterly direction, near a kopje held by a strong force of Cronje's men, reinforced by a Ladysmith contingent. At the same time General Broadwood's Brigade, with a battery of horse-artillery, took up positions to the left and rear of the same kopje.

Suddenly the Boers bolted towards General French, who headed towards the drift, shelling vigorously. A great number escaped, but many were killed by shrapnel, and about forty were captured.

There were several pour parlers February 21 on the subject of a short armistice. It appeared that General Cronje was willing to surrender, but that the young Transvaalers refused. The other beleaguered Boers were anxious to give up.

There was not much fighting February 22, but during the night the Shropshires rushed forward, seized an additional 200 yards of near ground, and entrenched a fresh position before daybreak, and, at dawn, General Cronje found himself docked that amount of space.

An exchange of positions during the day had its amusing features, in spite of the danger. The Gordons crawled on their stomachs to the trenches to relieve the Shropshires, and the Shropshires crept out of these by actually crawling over the Gordons.

A Boer force, Friday, February 23, tried to occupy Kitchener's Hill, which was held by the Yorkshire Regiment, and a sharp fight followed. Half a battalion of the Buffs were sent round the right of the hill and got between the Boers and their horses. They then drove the Burghers out on the open plain. A commandant, three other officers and eighty-seven men surrendered.

General Cronje, February 25, was still holding out, and the British had defeated and scattered some Boer reinforcements which had attempted to reach the Burgher laager.

On the eighth day of General Cronje's resistance, February 26, General Smith-Dorrien had worked up the river bed to within 200 yards of the Boer laager, squeezing the Burghers into a more and more confined space.

Then came the surrender of the brave Boer General, which was announced by Lord Roberts in the following despatch:

"Paardeberg, Orange Free State, February 27.—7:45 A. M.: Cronje and all his force capitulated unconditionally at daylight this morning. He is now a prisoner in my camp. The strength of his force will be communicated later. I hope the Government considers this event satisfactory, occurring on the anniversary of Majuba.

"From information received from the Intelligence Department it became apparent that the Boer forces were becoming depressed and discontented. This, no doubt, had been accentuated by the disappointment caused by the fact that the Boer reinforcements had been defeated.

"I resolved, therefore, to bring pressure to bear on the enemy's trenches. We pushed forward so gradually as to contract his position, and at the same time I bombarded heavily. This was materially added to by the arrival of four 6-inch howitzers, which were brought from De Aar. In carrying out these measures the captive balloon greatly assisted in giving the necessary information as to the disposition of the enemy.

"At 3 o'clock this morning a most dashing advance was made by the Canadian Regiment and the Engineers, supported by the First Gordons and the Second Shropshires, which resulted in our gaining a point 600 yards nearer the enemy and 80 yards from his trenches, where our men entrenched and maintained the position till morning. It was a gallant deed, worthy of our colonial soldiers, and one which, I am glad to say, was attended with comparatively slight loss.

"This apparently precipitated matters. At daylight a letter signed by Cronje was sent in under a flag of truce, in which he stated that he surrendered unconditionally.

"In my reply I told Cronje he must present himself at my camp, and that his force must come out of the laager after laying down their arms.

"At 7 o'clock I received Cronje, and in the course of the conversation Cronje asked for kind treatment at our hands; also that his wife, grandson, private secretary, adjutant and servants might accompany him wherever he might be sent. I reassured him, and told him that his request would be complied with. I told him a general officer would be sent with him to Cape Town to insure his being treated with proper respect, and that he would start to-day.

"The prisoners number about three thousand, and will be formed into commandoes under their own officers. They will leave here to-day, reaching Modder River to-morrow, whence they will be sent to Cape Town in detachments."

At about 7 o'clock on the morning of the surrender a small group of men appeared in the distance crossing the plain towards Lord Roberts' headquarters. The latter being apprised of General Cronje's approach, went to the front and ordered a guard of the Seaforths to line up. A group of horsemen then approached. On the right of General Prettyman, who had been sent to accept the surrender of the Boer general, rode an elderly man, clad in a rough, short overcoat, a wide-brimmed hat, ordinary tweed trousers, and brown shoes. It was Cronje. His face was almost burned black by exposure to the weather, and his beard was tinged with gray.

Lord Roberts was surrounded by his staff when General Prettyman, addressing the Field Marshal, said:

"Commandant Cronje, sir."

The Boer Commandant touched his hat in salute, and Lord Roberts saluted in return. The whole group then dismounted, and Lord Roberts stepped forward and shook hands with the Boer commander.

"You made a gallant defence, sir," was the first salutation of Lord Roberts. He then motioned the General to a seat in a chair which had been brought for his accommodation, and the two officers conversed through an interpreter. General Cronje afterward breakfasted with the British officers. His face was absolutely impassive, exhibiting no sign of his feelings.

General Cronje and the Boer prisoners were sent to Cape Town the same evening, the commander of the Burghers being treated with the utmost courtesy. His wife, grandson, adjutant and secretary were permitted to accompany him.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE RELIEF OF LADYSMITH.

General Buller's fourth attempt to relieve Ladysmith may be said to have been followed by a fifth, for he again recrossed the Tugela River, going southward, February 26, but only to make another attempt to reach General White. For over a week General Buller hammered away at the steel and fire bonds barring his way to Ladysmith; but, position after position was captured, at the cost of many valuable lives, and, February 27, the British commander was able to report progress made towards the relief of the suffering garrison. In his despatch from his headquarters at Hlangwana Hill, on the day mentioned, General Buller said:

"Finding that the passage of Langewacht's Spruit was commanded by strong entrenchments, I reconnoitered for another passage of the Tugela. One was found for me below the cataract by Colonel Sandbach, Royal Engineers, on February 25. We commenced making an approach thereto, and, on February 26, finding that I could make the passage practicable, I crossed the guns and baggage back to the south side of the Tugela, took up the pontoon bridge on Monday night and relayed it at the new site, which is just below the point marked cataract.

"During all this time the troops had been scattered, crouching under hastily constructed small stone shelters and exposed to a galling shell and rifle fire, and throughout they maintained the most excellent spirits.

"Tuesday General Barton, with two battalions of the Sixth Brigade and the Dublin Fusiliers, crept about a mile and a half down the banks of the river and, ascending an almost precipitous cliff of about five hundred feet, assaulted and carried the top of Pieter's Hill. This hill, to a certain extent, turned the enemy's left, and the Fourth Brigade, under Colonel Norcott, and the Eleventh Brigade, Colonel Kitchener commanding, the whole under command of General Warren, assailed the enemy's position, which was magnificently carried by the South Lancashire Regiment, about sunset.

"We took about sixty prisoners and scattered the enemy in all

directions. There seems to be still a considerable body of them left on and under Bulwana Mountain. Our losses, I hope, are not large. They certainly are much less than they would have been were it not for the admirable manner in which the artillery was served, especially the guns manned by the Royal Naval force and the Natal Naval Volunteers."

The difficulties encountered by General Buller's forces were very great. He had to hurl infantry at positions alligned in every direction with carefully prepared trenches, and with breastworks defended by practically invisible riflemen, armed with the most deadly rapid-firing weapons, and aided by quick-firing guns which put all but the cannon of the largest calibre into the shade.

The most definite news from Natal caused a thrill of joy throughout the British Empire. The welcome tidings were contained in a despatch from General Buller which read:

"Lyttleton's Headquarters, March 1—9:05 A. M.—General Dundonald, with the Natal Carbineers and a composite regiment, entered Ladysmith last night. The country between me and Ladysmith is reported clear of the enemy. I am moving on Nelthorpe."

The excitement caused by this news was at its height in London when the following despatch was posted:

"Nelthorpe, March 1—5:20 P. M.—I have just returned from Ladysmith. Except a small guard north of Surprise Hill, the whole of the enemy lately besieging the town have retired in hot haste, and to the south of the town the country is quite clear of them. The garrison were on half a pound of meal per day a man, and were supplementing the meat ration by horses and mules. The men will want a little nursing before being fit for the field."

After that, London almost went mad with joy, and throughout the Empire scenes of the wildest enthusiasm were witnessed. Congratulatory despatches were exchanged between Queen Victoria and her Generals, and business in the British metropolis was practically suspended. All the cities, towns and villages were decorated with flags, the schools were closed and crowds flocked all the main thoroughfares, cheering for "Bobs," Kitchener, Buller and White. Bands of people paraded the streets of all the cities of Great Britain, singing "Soldiers of the Queen," "Rule Britannia," and similar songs.

Since the investment of Ladysmith the total British casualties were:

killed or died of wounds, 24 officers and 235 men; died of disease, 6 officers and 340 men; wounded, 70 officers and 520 men, exclusive of white civilians and natives. The once dashing Cavalry Brigade at Ladysmith had practically ceased to exist. At the beginning of the year the British had 5,500 horses and 4,500 mules. Before the end of January they could only feed 1,100 horses. The others had either been converted into joints, soups and sausages, or had been left to forage for themselves.

In the south of Cape Colony the British forces, at this time, were slowly but surely driving the Boers back towards the Free State, General Kitchener having hastened to that district as soon as General Cronje was safely bottled up in the bed of the Modder River.

With the air full of the Cronje and Ladysmith successes, this despatch, posted at the British War Office March 1, passed almost unnoticed:

"Paardeberg—March 1—General Clements reports that on hearing that Colesberg had been evacuated, he sent a force to occupy Colesberg Junction, and rode into Colesberg, February 25, where he received an enthusiastic welcome. He secured a certain amount of ammunition, arrested several rebels, and then returned to Rensburg. He reported the railway line clear and working to Lanewealewnan's Siding. He will report to-morrow as to the few culverts which have been blown up. Colesberg and Colesberg Junction are held by our troops."

The Boers in the Colesberg district were then in full retreat.

But, the successes of the British did not change the plans of the British War Office. The Secretary of State for War, the Marquis of Lansdowne, announced, March 1, that 60,000 more troops would sail for South Africa between March 3 and the end of April. The army estimates, issued the same day, showed a total expenditure of about \$307,500,000, an increase over last year of about \$45,000,000, providing for an addition to the army of about 250,000 men.

The relief of Kimberley, the capture of General Cronje and his forces and the relief of Ladysmith, following so closely after each other, had a decidedly dampening effect on the ardor of the Boers, and correspondingly elated the British. The spirits of the latter were still further raised a few days later, when it was reported that Presidents Kruger and Steyn were taking steps calculated to bring about the arrangement of peace on the best terms procurable, and that, with this

object in view, they were on the point of addressing notes to the Powers, through the representatives of the latter at Pretoria.

In the meanwhile Lord Roberts was not idle. He gave his troops but little rest and pushed steadily forward in the direction of Bloemfontein. The next definite news from the British Commander-in-Chief was received from Osfontein, March 7, from where he telegraphed that he was pushing his way toward Bloemfontein, and that the enemy was being driven out of the way successfully.

Lord Roberts seemed to be following out a well-arranged plan of campaign, for he moved his troops with great regularity and always successfully; from the hour he crossed the border of the Orange Free State.

In Natal, while the invasion of the Free State was in progress, the exhausted and sick troops from Ladysmith were moved into sanitary camps further south and flying columns were sent northward to keep in touch with the Boers, who were taking up strong positions in the Drakensburg and Biggarsberg ranges. A general council of war was held at the Boer head laager, at Glencoe, northern Natal, March 5, and appointed Louis Botha Lieutenant-General for Natal, with Lukas Meyer, Schalk-Burger, David Joubert, Daniel Erasmus and Forrie as assistant generals.

President Kruger visited President Steyn at Bloemfontein March 6 and made some stirring addresses to the Burghers. He said that though God was trying them, it was his personal opinion that the limit of that test was nearly reached. If their faith in God in adversity did not fail, He would surely deliver them. The God of deliverance of olden times was the same God still. The old President's words moved men and women to tears, and as they sang the national anthem their voices trembled with emotion.

After sharp engagements at Poplar Grove and Dreifontein Lord Roberts' forces reached Bloemfontein March 13, from where Lord Roberts telegraphed the British War Office:

"Bloemfontein, March 13—8 P. M.—By the help of God and the bravery of Her Majesty's soldiers the troops under my command have taken possession of Bloemfontein. The British flag flies over the Presidency, which was vacated last evening by Mr. Steyn, late President of the Orange Free State. Mr. Fraser, a member of the late Executive Government, the Mayor, the Secretary of the late Govern-

ment, the Landdrost and other officials met me two miles from the town and presented the keys of the public offices. The enemy have withdrawn from the neighborhood. All seems quiet. The inhabitants gave the troops a cordial welcome."

The occupation of Bloemfontein by the British was a severe blow to the Boers and was hailed with wild enthusiasm throughout the dominions of Queen Victoria.

March 5, President Kruger telegraphed the British Government making overtures for peace on the terms that the independence of the Boer Republic be recognized and granted. To this Lord Salisbury replied, March 11, that no proposals for peace could be considered that in any way involved the independence of the South African Republic or of the Orange Free State.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE TUG-OF-WAR CONTINUED.

The last week of the month of March, 1900, was passed by the British and Boers in gathering their forces together for the next stage of the campaign, in accumulating stores and remounts and in resting, of which both forces stood greatly in need. This was especially the case with the British cavalry, whose horses were suffering badly from the change of climate and forced marches.

So many Burghers expressed a desire to surrender under the terms of Lord Roberts' proclamation that the British Commander-in-Chief sent small columns of troops in various directions to register their names and take over the arms.

But, although about 1,500 Boers delivered up arms and took the oath prescribed by Lord Roberts in his peace proclamation, it was noticed that the arms turned over to the British were principally Martini-Henry rifles, the weapons with which the Burghers were armed previous to the war, and it was judged that the Mauser rifles which had proved so deadly in the hands of the Boers were concealed, which subsequently turned out to be correct, for many Mausers and ammunition for them were found hidden, here and there, in most unexpected places.

Skirmishes occurred at different points, and Colonel Plumer's force, advancing to the relief of Mafeking, was defeated and driven back to Crocodile Pools and Gaberones, which rendered the position of the little garrison under Colonel Baden-Powell more desperate than ever, though his troops continued to hold out pluckily against hunger and the Boers, and even succeeded in making sorties now and then and capturing a few head of cattle.

Two citizens of Vryburg, who had been imprisoned by the Boers, arrived at Warronton, north of Kimberley, March 22, under a flag of truce. They said that the big gun with which the Boers bombarded Kimberley was sent through Christiania to Pretoria.

In the meanwhile, General French, with a brigade of cavalry and mounted infantry, had arrived at Thabanchu, and opened heliographic communication with Maseru, Basutoland, which reported all well. It was his intention to cut off the retreat north of the Boers who had been

operating against the forces of General Gatacre, but the wily Burghers under General Olivier, numbering 6,000 men, outwitted the British and made one of the most brilliant retreats in the history of warfare, and eventually were able to reassume the offensive in the vicinity of Bloemfontein.

General Clements entered Philippolis, Orange Free State, at noon, March 23. He assembled the Burghers and read Lord Roberts' proclamation in Dutch and English. The future of the Free State, the General declared, would have to be decided by Her Majesty's advisers; but, the Burghers might be certain that the late Government at Bloemfontein would never be restored.

The Boers formed their headquarters at Kroonstad and it was announced that they were full of confidence and determination.

Mrs. Poulteney, wife of the interpreter of the Free State courts, who was then at Kroonstad, received, at Bloemfontein, a letter from her husband in which he said that there was a confident feeling among the Burghers that they would be able to repulse the British. He added that the Boers were in great force at Kroonstad, where they had amassed a huge quantity of food-stuffs. They intended to make a determined stand there. Commandant-General Joubert was in command, with the joint forces of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State and all available guns. Entrenchments were being made and the town was being turned into a fortress. All the staunchest men of both States declared their intention of preventing the Transvaal border from being crossed.

In Natal the Boers were at that time acting entirely on the defensive. They were at the Biggarsberg range from Cundycleugh to Perth. Their strongest positions were across the Newcastle road, where there were two lines of entrenchments and 12,000 men, with sixteen guns. They were also holding the Drakensberg range from Oliver's Hoek to Cundycleugh.

Pretoria was being prepared for a siege, it being claimed the Boer forces could hold out there for six months, when, they believed, the intervention of some Power or Powers were likely to save them from utter collapse. The most powerful artillery was mounted at Pretoria, the ranges were carefully marked and the guns were occasionally fired for practice. Mines were laid and other preparations were made.

At Waterfall, near Pretoria, where there were over 3,000 prisoners,

the situation of the camp was unhealthy. The shelter for the men was insufficient and there was, therefore, considerable sickness. The Boer prisoners at Simons Town, near Cape Town, were also suffering from the insanitary condition of their camp and the death rate among them was very great, principally from typhoid fever.

The aspect of affairs in South Africa changed March 27, when it was announced that General Joubert, the famous Commander-in-Chief of the Transvaal forces, was dead.

The circumstances of the death of General Joubert were not explained in the despatch announcing his death, which recalled the fact that Mr. William Cox, a correspondent of the Natal Mercury, who had then recently been released from imprisonment at Pretoria and who had arrived at Durban, said General Joubert was apparently suspected of half-heartedness, and Mr. Cox gathered that his life would be in danger at the hands of the Burghers if Pretoria was besieged.

The wife of General Joubert, who was a Miss Fraser, was devoted to him throughout the campaign, frequently sharing his dangers in the field.

Queen Victoria, through Lord Roberts, cabled her condolences to Mrs. Joubert.

The funeral of General Joubert took place at Pretoria, where he died, of stomach trouble, March 29, and was made a State function. The British prisoners sent a wreath to be placed on the coffin.

In the course of a speech made on the following day President Kruger said that the last desire expressed by Commandant-General Joubert was that Louis Botha should succeed him as Commander of the Boer forces.

There was considerable comment at the end of March regarding the apparent inactivity of the British forces. The halt was necessary as a military precaution, because of the approaching winter.

The first fighting after the lull in hostilities occurred March 30, when Lord Roberts, in a despatch from Bloemfontein, telegraphed:

"Owing to the activity of the enemy in our immediate front and their hostile action toward the Burghers who had surrendered under the terms of my proclamation, I found it necessary to drive them from some kopjes they occupied near Karee Siding Station, a few miles south of Brandfort. The operation was successfully carried out by the Seventh, Tucker's Division, assisted by the First and Third Cavalry

Brigades, under General French, and Legaty's mounted troops. The enemy retreated to Brandfort. Our troops hold the kopjes. Our casualties were one officer killed and seven wounded, and about one hundred men."

The next incident of the war was one which gave another severe shock to the British Empire, inasmuch as it was a brilliant Boer victory.

The successes of the British lulled them into a state of pleasant self-laudatory contemplation of the campaign, from which they were rudely aroused, April 1, by the news of a brilliant victory scored by the Boers at Sannas Post, near Bloemfontein, where seven guns and about 400 prisoners, including some of the famous Household Cavalry (Horse Guards and Life Guards), and the Tenth Hussars, fell into the hands of the wily and gallant Burghers. It is true that some of the British exhibited great gallantry upon this occasion; but, this does not alter the fact that the Boers, under General De Wet, succeeded in inflicting defeat on the British within a few miles of the army of some 70,000 men under Lord Roberts, who was presumed to be completing the pacification of the Orange Free State previous to moving his whole effective army against the Boer positions at Kroonstad. The following is Lord Roberts' account of the disaster to the British arms:

"Bloemfontein, April 1.—I received news late yesterday afternoon from Colonel Broadwood, at Thabanchu, thirty-eight miles east of this place, that information had reached him that the enemy was approaching in two forces from the north and east. He stated if the report proved true he would retire to the waterworks, seventeen miles nearer Bloemfontein, at which place we have had a detachment of two companies of Mounted Infantry for the protection of the works. Broadwood was told in reply that the Ninth Division (Colvile's), with Martyr's Mounted Infantry, would march at daylight today to support him, and if he considered it necessary he should retire to the waterworks.

"He moved there during the night and bivouacked. At dawn he was shelled by the enemy and attacked on three sides. He immediately despatched his two horse-artillery batteries and his baggage toward Bloemfontein, covering them with cavalry.

"Some two miles from the waterworks the road crosses a deep nullah, in which, during the night, a force of Boers had concealed themselves. So well were they hidden that our leading scouts passed over the drift without discovering them and not until the wagons and guns

were entering the drift did the Boers show themselves. They then opened fire and many of the drivers and artillery-horses were at once shot down at short range. Several guns were captured, the remainder galloping away covered by Roberts' Horse, which suffered heavily.

"Meanwhile, Lieutenant Chester Master, of Rimington's Scouts, found a passage across the drift unoccupied by the enemy, by which the remainder of Broadwood's force crossed and re-formed with great steadiness, notwithstanding all that had previously occurred.

"Broadwood's report, which has just reached me, contains no details. He stated that he lost seven guns and all his baggage. He estimated his casualties at 350, including 200 missing.

"On hearing this morning that Broadwood was hard pressed, I immediately ordered French, with the two remaining cavalry brigades, to follow to the support of the Ninth Division. The latter, after a magnificent march, arrived on the scene of action shortly after 2 P. M.

"Broadwood's force consisted of the Household Cavalry, the Tenth (Prince of Wales' Own Royal), Hussars, 'Q' and 'U' Batteries of the Royal Horse Artillery and Pilcher's Battalion of Mounted Infantry. The strength of the enemy is estimated at from 8,000 to 10,000. The number of their guns is not yet reported.

"Of 'Q' Battery, Captain Humphrey and Lieutenants Peck, Ashmore and Murch were wounded. The two latter are missing. Forty non-commissioned officers and men of this battery were wounded or are missing. Of 'U' Battery, all are missing except Major Taylor and a Sergeant-Major. 'U' Battery lost five guns and 'Q' Battery two. The two cavalry regiments did not suffer so much as reported.

"The enemy has retired to Ladybrand, leaving twelve wounded officers and some seventy men at the waterworks. I am sending an ambulance corps.

"There has been considerable delay in getting an accurate return of the casualties. The action took place twenty-two miles from here. The telegraph line has been interrupted several times and cloudy weather has interfered with signalling. Although there has been no engagement since, the force has been continuously in touch with the enemy.

"There were many acts of conspicuous gallantry displayed during the day. 'Q' Battery remained in action, under a cross-fire at a distance

of 1,200 yards, for some hours, the officers serving the guns, as the casualties had reduced the detachment.

"Several gallant attempts were made to bring in two guns, the teams of which had been killed, but at each attempt the horses were shot.

"The Essex, Muntster, Shropshire and Northumberland Mounted Infantry and Roberts' Horse covered the retirement of the guns from that position to the crossing of the drift. They found cavalry two miles further south and withstood determined attacks of the enemy, who in some cases advanced within one hundred yards.

" 'U' Battery was suddenly surrounded in the drift and the officers and men were made prisoners. Not a shot was fired. Five guns of this battery were captured at the same time."

Korn Spruit, near Sannas Post, where the ambushade actually took place, is three miles west of the waterworks which supply Bloemfontein, and about twenty-two miles from that town.

The trapped British troops were commanded by Colonel Broadwood, the convoy being under the immediate command of the Duke of Teck, a relative of Queen Victoria.

From independent reports it appeared that Colonel Broadwood found Thabanchu untenable, as over 10,000 Boers, with good artillery, had been sweeping through the eastern portion of the Free State and re-enlisting the Burghers.

The Boers, March 30, began shelling Colonel Broadwood's force at long range. Broadwood did not reply, but moved east, and at 2 o'clock, Saturday morning, March 31, reached the drift where the disaster occurred. He did not attempt to send his transport across during the night, but started at daylight on Saturday.

The Boers, who were cleverly ambushed, allowed a number of wagons to cross the drift and then opened a terrific shell and rifle fire, throwing the British, who were not prepared for an attack, into great confusion.

The two Batteries of the British Horse Artillery were fired on from a distance of three hundred yards. The commander of the batteries shouted out the order, "Left wheel, gallop!" but the rifles of the Boers dropped men and horses with such a rain of lead that everybody for a time was compelled to seek shelter. But volunteers came forward heroically and took teams with them, saving four guns of one battery and one gun of the second battery.

The Boers had occupied the entire length of the river bed during the night and all the British flanks, except that to the southwest, were covered. The conductors and drivers of the transport became panic-stricken, the Kaffirs hiding their heads among the forage sacks and screaming with terror.

The transport was sent across first in order to be out of range of the Boer artillery, and the British artillery was sent to take a position to the westward and reply to the Boers.

The Boers disarmed the transport almost without firing on it. When the batteries approached the drift about three hundred Boers who were at Korn Spruit waited till the horses were within a few hundred yards of them and then opened a deadly fire, knocking over horses and drivers. A part of one British battery succeeded in reaching high ground and shelter and got into action at 1,200 yards.

The Mounted Police galloped to the southwest and the transport and the remainder of the battery became jammed in the spruit, which was full of dead horses and mules. This prevented the Boers from securing all of the guns, and the British saved five of them.

A number of sick soldiers were killed in the wagons which did not have the Red Cross emblem.

The Burghers who returned to Brandfort from the scene of the ambushade said that when the first retreating British wagons entered the drift the ambuscaders shouted "Hands up!" removed the officers and let the carts in till a number of wagons arrived in a bunch, when the ruse was discovered and a disorderly flight followed. In one cart, the Burghers said, were two British officers, to whom General De Wet shouted, "Hands up!" One of the officers obeyed, whereupon the other shot his comrade dead and refused to surrender. He was immediately shot.

General De Wet sent the British guns, wagons and prisoners to Winburg.

The Boers lost three men killed and had ten men wounded, including a Field Cornet.

The significance of the engagement can be judged when it is added that it was fought by the Free Staters on the flat plains, where there was no shelter. This so raised the spirits of the Boers that the Free Staters were desirous of marching on Bloemfontein and the Transvaalers became anxious to emulate the success of their allies.

But, of even greater importance than the victory was the capture of British secret papers, including maps and plans dated 1897, 1898 and 1899, outlining elaborate schemes for the invasion of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal and giving a plan for reaching Johannesburg from Mafeking along Dr. Jameson's route, but amended so as to avoid his mistakes. Another document gave a plan for a march from Bloemfontein to Kroonstad, by way of Brandfort, and a despatch-box found contained the oaths signed by the surrendered Free Staters. The signers were immediately sent for in order that the Boer General might "explain the invalidity of oaths under compulsion."

It is true that Colonel Broadwood's force, of about 1,000 men, was outnumbered by the Boers, eight or even ten to one. But this does not alter the fact that some 10,000 Boers were threatening Lord Roberts' right flank, close to Bloemfontein, and that he had no knowledge of it.

By April 5 the British troops at Bloemfontein were receiving numerous remounts and the work of preparing for a forward movement was resumed, though precaution was taken to defend Bloemfontein in case of a sudden attack, four 4.7-inch naval-guns and four naval 12-pounders being mounted on the hills commanding the surrounding plains.

Mafeking, on April 2, still held out, though a desperate sortie was repulsed by the Boers, who also beat back Colonel Plumer's Rhodesian relieving force, which had then reached the vicinity of the besieged town.

The transportation of the Boer prisoners to St. Helena aroused the anger of the Burghers, who threatened to retaliate by sending the British prisoners to Komatspoort, reputed to be the worst fever-spot in South Africa.

Lord Roberts, April 6, reported a victory and a defeat. At Boshof, in the Orange Free State, northeast of Kimberley, General Methuen's forces surrounded and defeated a force of Boers commanded by General de Villebois Mareuil, Chief of Staff of the Boer army, a French officer of great distinction who was credited with planning the Burghers' operations in Natal, particularly the siege of Ladysmith and the checking of General Buller's repeated attempts to relieve that place, as well as the successful Boer operations in Cape Colony and the southern part of the Orange Free State. The French General, who

was about fifty years old, was among the killed. About fifty Boers were captured.

But, immediately following this announcement came a despatch saying five companies of British troops—three companies of the Royal Irish Fusiliers and two companies of the Ninth Regiment of Mounted Infantry, numbering about 500 men, had surrendered to an overwhelming force of Boers near Reddersburg, within a few miles of Bloemfontein. The British force held out from noon, April 3, until 9 a. m. April 4, when their ammunition exhausted. Lord Roberts classed this as an "unfortunate occurrence," which was putting it quite mildly in view of the powerful army he had under his immediate command at and near Bloemfontein. Two such disasters within a few days showed the Boers were able to strike effectively close to Lord Roberts' headquarters, and the fact that his cavalry was in need of remounts did not fully account for this freedom of action upon the part of the Burghers.

CHAPTER LX.

COLONIAL TROOPS.

The excellent work of the Colonial forces of Great Britain during the war in South Africa entitles them to a chapter by themselves. Before giving a description of the work done by these troops it might be well to show something of the mobilization and departure of the various contingents, their arrival at the Cape and other incidents connected with their movements.

Recruiting for the British army began in Canada late in February, 1899, and an offer of troops was made officially by the Dominion Cabinet to the home Government at a meeting of that body October 6, 1899. It was announced that as many men as would be accepted would be furnished, all ready for the field; and the offer was also made to pay the cost of transportation and the maintenance of the troops while they were in South Africa.

The first contingent of Canadian troops, 1,000 strong, left Quebec October 30, on board the transport *Sardinian*, and disembarked at Cape Town November 30.

A second contingent was offered in December, 1899, and, at a meeting of the Cabinet, held December 18, the official announcement was made that the offer had been accepted. The body of soldiers in question numbered about 1,000 men and consisted of three squadrons of mounted riflemen and three field-batteries. The Northwest Mounted Police contributed a squadron and a half of the Mounted Rifles and the remainder were selected from the different cavalry corps throughout the Dominion. The artillery was divided into three batteries of 171 men each, those forming them coming from various field-batteries from all parts of Canada. There was no infantry in this contingent.

The second quota of recruits was sent in three sections. The first of these embarked at Halifax, N. S., on the transport *Laurentian*, January 20, 1900, and arrived in South Africa February 18. The second party left on board the *Pomeranian*, January 27, and reached Cape Town February 26. The third detachment sailed on the *Milwaukee* February 21 and were landed at the Cape March 24.

The embarkation of Strathcona's Horse, consisting of 540 officers

and men, furnished and maintained by the Canadian High Commissioner, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, from Halifax, March 17, was marked by scenes of unbounded enthusiasm on the part of the populace. General Lord William Seymour, Sir M. B. Daly, the Lieutenant-Governor, and Mr. Borden, Minister of Militia, addressed the troops. Mr. Borden, in an eloquent speech, said Canada had now abandoned colonialism and would henceforth take her full share in the responsibilities of the Empire. He read the following telegram from Lord Strathcona:

"To Mr. Borden, Minister of Militia, Halifax:

"Please read to my force the following gracious message received by me through her Majesty's private secretary:

" 'Her Majesty would be glad if before they start you would convey to them an expression of her confidence that they will prove themselves worthy comrades of her Canadian soldiers who are so gallantly fighting for the Empire's cause. The Queen wishes them all success and a safe return to their homes in the Dominion.'

"In my reply to her Majesty I stated that both officers and men consider it a privilege to have the honor of serving their Sovereign and the Empire, and may be relied upon to do their duty as Canadians and as loyal British subjects and to justify the confidence in them to which her Majesty has been graciously pleased to give expression.

"Please express to Colonel Steele, the officers, and men my great disappointment at not being able to witness their departure. I looked forward with keen pleasure to the opportunity of personally wishing them God speed and a safe return. I am quite sure they will acquit themselves bravely and gallantly in any service entrusted to them, and that they will do credit to themselves, to the Dominion, and to our beloved Queen.

Strathcona."

The quota of men contributed by Toronto to fill the vacancies caused by the casualties among the Canadian contingent in South Africa departed from that city March 12. Owing to the hurried departure of the troops there was no formal demonstration of farewell, but a large crowd of friends assembled at the station to bid the men good-bye. All the volunteers were in high spirits, and their only fear was that owing to the recent British successes the war might be ended before they reached the front.

Up to March 14, 1900, the total representation of Canadian troops in the South African war was 3,900 men.

The lives of all these soldiers were covered by insurance policies, arrangements having been made with the Standard Life Assurance Company of Scotland for the placing of \$1,000,000 insurance on the various regiments. The risks were to continue in force for one year and the relatives or heirs of any of the men who died within that time, while absent, no matter from what cause, were to receive \$1,000. Sir Charles Tupper also had the troops insured, his insurance being against accident.

Australasia also sent a force to South Africa. The Military Commandants of all the departments, with the exception of New Zealand, sat in Melbourne, Victoria, September 29, 1899, for the purpose of considering the question of sending a contingent to the war. The first consignment embarked about the latter part of October and early in November, from various points. The New South Wales Lancers arrived at Cape Town November 2, and were enthusiastically received. Their presence was seized upon at once as affording the people of Cape Colony an opportunity of showing their gratitude for the help extended by a sister colony.

The West Australasian contingent sailed from Perth, Western Australia, November 6, 1899.

A second force left Sydney, New South Wales, for the front January 17, 1900, and, February 28, 31 officers, 496 men and 570 horses, forming the New South Wales portion of the Bushmen's Contingent, embarked on the transports Atlantian and Maplemore.

At Woolloomooloo Quay the Lieutenant-Governor, the Premier, and the chairman of the organization committee addressed the contingent. Sir F. Darley read the following telegram from Sir A. Milner: "Cronje has surrendered. I am delighted to congratulate you on the noble share taken by the troops from your colony." Continuing, the Lieutenant-Governor said:

"You are specially favored, standing in the place of many citizens of this colony who are eager to occupy the position you now fill. I congratulate you accordingly. You have a great advantage over the men who have gone before you, because they have already made a name for Australia, and you have only to emulate their deeds. I know you will do us credit, and I hope to see you safely return. Those who

fall will, I hope, be commemorated by a memorial erected in this city."

Mr. Lyne, the Premier, said:

"Considering the favorable news from the front, doubts have been expressed whether the Bushmen are now required. I opine that there is plenty of work yet, but if not you deserve the same honor as the first to go, having volunteered when severe fighting was expected. Unfortunately, the Government could not accept all the volunteers offering, and many good men were rejected. Parliament and the country will look after those you leave behind. I have taken steps to look after those dependent on men who have already fallen. I know you can sit firm and shoot straight, even as the colonies are doing in the interests of the Empire. You will be received on your return with glad, open hearts, and those who fall will be commemorated as suggested by the Lieutenant-Governor."

A Queensland contingent, consisting of 300 officers and men and 350 horses, embarked March 1, at Brisbane, on the transport Duke of Portland. Immense crowds assembled on the wharf, and the utmost enthusiasm was displayed. Seventy-five per cent. of the force were Bushmen, and all were expert horsemen and good shots. Twenty additional men and fifty horses went overland to Sydney in order to catch the transport Maplemore.

A force of 275 men of the Bushmen's Contingent also sailed from Melbourne, on the transport Euryalus, March 10. There was no military display, but the streets were decorated with flags, and the men were given an enthusiastic reception. Surgeon Fitzgerald and ten nurses were also passengers on the same transport.

The representation of the Imperial Bushmen on a population basis, up to the middle of March, was as follows: New South Wales, 722; Victoria, 626; Queensland, 270; South Australia, 198; Tasmania, 95, and Western Australia, 89.

The Australians were paid 1 s. 2 d. (about 30 cents) per day while serving in Cape Colony or Natal and 5 s. (\$1.25) each day while in service elsewhere, and 114 commissions in the Royal Artillery and in the infantry were granted to Australians.

New Zealand sent four contingents to the front, consisting of soldiers of deadly aim and skilled in horsemanship. At the time of the departure of the fourth quota of men, March 20, the Premier, Mr. R. J. Seddon, addressed the troops, and they were given a great reception.

The Pall Mall Gazette, of London, in its issue of March 27, had this to say of the affair:

"The remarkable send-off of the fourth New Zealand contingent may be specially commended to the notice of the National Liberal Federation. New Zealand is a Radical country; Mr. Seddon, the Premier, is a Radical. Yet we find him warmly declaring that the war to which New Zealand is sending her sons is a war for higher civilization, justice, good and humanity, as well as for the Empire and that yesterday was the greatest day in the history of Otago and the South Island; while that island broke all its records of enthusiasm. The Liberals in every colony are united to the same effect but where is Liberalism at home, and how does it explain the contrast? Another lesson must be drawn from this wonderful demonstration, and the rush to join this fourth contingent, enrolled after even Otago itself thought it could do no more. The Colonials are eagerly devoting their men and money to the cause; there can be no settlement which they would think unworthy of their efforts."

General Lord Roberts paid a high compliment to the Colonials by choosing as members of his body guard a number of men taken from the different Colonial regiments participating in the campaign.

The services rendered by the Colonial Guides in the retreat of General Yule from Sunday's River Valley (Dundee) to Ladysmith, October 26, 1899, on which occasion the men were greatly commended because, though greatly fatigued, they effected the retreat in masterly fashion, the British completely outflanking the Boer force.

India's first contribution to the war consisted of field-hospitals. Lumsden's Horse left Calcutta February 26, 1900, and was addressed, before departing, by the Viceroy, Lord Curzon.

Some letters from the front to relatives of the Canadian troops may be interesting. They were published by the Toronto Mail and Empire, and afford vivid glimpses of the war. A letter from a wounded Lance Corporal of the King's Royal Rifles to his mother gave a description of the storming of Glencoe. He said:

"It was just daybreak when the Boers opened fire on us, and as men began to fall rather fast General Symons, who was in command, ordered our Colonel to have us in readiness to storm their hill. If you had only seen that hill, mother, you would have fainted at the look of it.

"When the order came to take it, up we went like rockets. I was

with some more chaps right in front, and the way we got over huge boulders and took flying leaps across great ledges was a fair treat. I don't know how I did it now, but it didn't seem two minutes from the start when I was right up at the top of the hill, and stabbing at the 'Paulies' for all I was worth. I got so excited that I got right away from the main body, and among a crowd of them, and as my ankle got twisted over a big stone, down I came a cropper, just as I was going to lay out an old fellow with a beard a foot long.

"He had clubbed his gun and was going to bring it over my head as I lay on the ground, when all of a sudden up springs in front of him a young fellow, and says something to him in their lingo, and the old fellow only scowls at me and then turns round and goes off somewhere else to fight. Then the young chap helps me up, and as the fall and a bullet in my foot had taken it all out of me, he props me up against a rock and gives me some water. Then he says to me in very bad English: 'I save your life. Do you know?' I nodded. Then he says: 'You know why I save your life?' I shook my head. Then he says: 'Because you are like my brother!'

"Then he gives me a cigar and carries me on his back down the hill to where our camp lay, and when we got to the bottom he puts me down and says: 'They will find you here all right.' Then he gives me another cigar, shakes my hand, and bolts. I was picked up by a patrol an hour or so afterward, and have been in hospital ever since."

The following extracts are from a letter sent by a Canadian soldier, though not of the Canadian contingent, to his mother:

"I was in both the battles of Elandslaagte and Rietfontein, and had the luck to come out of both without being hit. I shall never forget the battle of Elandslaagte. The bullets were simply raining. Our casualties were thirty-eight, and would have been a great deal more if it hadn't been for a lot of ant-hills that afforded us splendid cover as we advanced to take the Boer position, keeping well apart from one another and not crowding as we advanced. When we charged their position we fixed our bayonets, and, with a cheer, charged up the slope. Before we got to the top the enemy hoisted the white flag. Our officers stopped us, and would not allow us to use our bayonets. The Boers had run away and left everything they possessed—rifles, horses, tinned provisions of all kinds and a lot of clothes. The Boer killed and wounded were lying all over the place. It was very miserable, as it rained all

night, and we could hear the cries and groans all round. The next morning we returned to Ladysmith by train."

The Canadian and Australian forces with Colonel Pilcher distinguished themselves by capturing a laager near Dover Farm, Cape Colony.

A mounted force consisting of 100 Canadians of the Toronto company, and 200 Queenslanders, commanded by Colonel Rickards; two guns and a horse-battery, under Major de Rougemont; 40 Mounted Infantry, under Lieutenant Ryan, and 200 of the Cornwall Light Infantry, the whole commanded by Colonel Pilcher, left Belmont December 31 at noon on a march westward, covering twenty miles before sunset. The force encamped at Cook's Farm, where the troops were welcomed enthusiastically. At six o'clock the next morning the force approached a spot where a laager of the Boers was reported. Colonel Pilcher, on coming near the position, which was a line of strong kopjes, detached Major de Rougemont with the guns, Torontos and Mounted Infantry, to work toward the right, making a turning movement himself, with the Queenslanders, toward the south position. The manoeuvre was a complete success. The British shells were the first indication of the presence of the troops. The Boers left their laager and opened fire, but, the Queenslanders completing the movement, the laager was captured with forty prisoners. The British casualties were two men killed, three wounded and one missing. The whole force worked admirably. The two men killed belonged to the Queensland contingent.

A despatch from Dover Farm, under date of January 1, said:

"The Colonial troops, who have been longing to be allowed to meet the Boers, have at last been given an opportunity to do so, and have scored a brilliant success. The raid conducted by Colonel Pilcher was very difficult, owing to the fact that the movements of the troops were immediately communicated to the Boers by natives. In order to prevent this, Colonel Pilcher, in making his forced march from Belmont, left a British trooper at every farmhouse with instructions not to allow the natives to leave their huts, the patrols calling the names of the natives hourly in order to prevent their escape.

"In the manoeuvre Colonel Pilcher sent mounted patrols east; one of these, consisting of four men, commanded by Lieutenant Adie, suddenly encountered fourteen Boers, who opened fire. The Lieutenant

was severely wounded, and Private Butler gave up his horse in order to carry the Lieutenant out of range. Another private, whose horse had bolted, pluckily returned to render assistance. He was wounded in the leg and his horse was killed. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Ryan, who had worked magnificently, reported that the veldt on the right of the enemy was clear, whereupon Major de Rougemont ordered the guns to a trot. They arrived within 1,500 yards of the laager, unlimbered, and planted five shells in as many minutes within the laager. Immediately the enemy could be seen streaming over the kopje. They were completely surprised, but opened, quickly, a well-directed fire.

"A correspondent had the privilege of carrying an order to the Toronto Company to double-quick into action. The order was received with great satisfaction. The company rushed forward until within a thousand yards of the enemy's position, when it opened a hot fire on the kopje and completely subdued the Boer fire.

"The British artillery shelled the position with wonderful accuracy, while Lieutenant Ryan, with Mounted Infantry, worked round and completely uncovered the fire of the Boers, who had been ensconced in the bushes.

"In the meantime, Colonel Pilcher, with the Queenslanders, taking advantage of every cover, made a direct attack, the Australians moving slowly but surely, and only shouting when they saw the enemy retiring under their steady fire. The Queenslanders behaved with great coolness, laughing and chatting even at the moment of greatest peril.

"During the advance the Boer fire suddenly ceased. Thirty-five Boers hoisted a white flag and surrendered. A portion of the Torontos moved across the front of the guns and entered the laager. The Boers had fled. Fourteen tents, three wagons, a great store of rifles, ammunition, forage, saddles and camp equipment, and numerous incriminating papers were captured.

"The Boers lost six killed and twelve wounded. The Torontos stood the galling fire with admirable patience, never wasting a shot."

The London papers were unanimous in praising the gallantry of the Colonial troops on this occasion. The Times, January 3, said:

"The Mother Country will share with the Canadians and Australians in the pride and gratification they must feel at the fine qualities displayed by their troops in this dashing little engagement."

The Standard's comment was:

"The Canadians and Australians had been spoiling for a fight. Now they have had their opportunity, and they have greatly distinguished themselves by their coolness and discipline. From the view point of Imperial unity the little fight may fairly be described as one of the most gratifying events recorded in the recent history of the British race."

A little incident was reported by one of the Cape Colony papers at the time the Canadians were in Cape Town, and when the inhabitants were, to quote the paper in question, "clean mad with excitement over the advent of the Canadian contingent," as follows:

"A bluejacket brushed up against two Australian troopers and a Canadian. As he passed he patted them gently and lovingly on the shoulder.

"'Good boys,' he said, with an indescribably benignant smile. 'Good boys. You're all right. You're the best sort. Good luck to you.'

"The Colonists smiled their acknowledgments and the quartet parted—never, probably, to meet again."

A reverse was suffered by the Australians January 17. A patrol consisting of sixteen men of the New South Wales Lancers and South Australians were ambushed and overwhelmed by the Boers after a severe fight. Eight of the detachment escaped, but the rest were captured. Next morning another patrol visited the scene and found one dead Australian. There were indications of a desperate encounter, as a number of dead Boer horses were found, showing the troopers had made a gallant stand. It was learned that after having encountered a body of Boers and having their retreat cut off the Australians had galloped for a near-by kopje, hoping to beat off the Boers; but, on arriving there, they found another force of Burghers concealed, and they were eventually forced to give up.

Another encounter between the British and the Boers, in which the Colonists figured, occurred at Rensburg, February 10, when the British were outflanked. It appears that a considerable force of Boers was harassing the British line of communications between Rensburg and Slingersfontein, and during a reconnaissance by some Inniskillings and twenty Australians the Boers were discovered trying to get a gun in position to shell the British camp. A hot fight took place, the Australians having one man killed and three men wounded.

A picket of five Victorian Rifles held a post at Rensburg for some

hours, February 10, against a Boer attack, but were finally forced to retire. Three of them were wounded.

A patrol of eight Tasmanians and eight of General French's scouts were surprised by the Boers, and all but two of the Tasmanians and three of the scouts were captured.

The Canadians were engaged in the battle at Modder River, February 18. The fighting lasted all day, and the loss to the Canadians was nearly one hundred men in killed, wounded and captured.

The Canadians were also conspicuous in the engagement which led up to the surrender of General Cronje, February 27. The correspondent of the London Times described the event as follows:

"Brigadier-General Macdonald sent from his bed a note to Lord Roberts reminding him that Tuesday (February 27) was the anniversary of that disaster (Majuba Hill), which, we all remembered, he had, by example, order and threat himself done his best to avert, even while the panic had been at its height. Sir Henry Colville submitted a suggested attack backed by the same unanswerable plea. For a moment Lord Roberts demurred to the plan; it seemed likely to cost too heavily, but the insistence of Canada broke down his reluctance, and the men of the oldest colony were sent out in the small hours of Tuesday morning to redeem the blot on the name of the Mother Country.

"From the existing trench, some 700 yards long, on the northern bank, held jointly by the Gordons and the Canadians, the latter were ordered to advance in two lines—each, of course, in extended order—thirty yards apart, the first with bayonets fixed, the second reinforced by fifty Royal Engineers under Colonel Kincaid and Captain Boileau.

"In dead silence and covered by a darkness only faintly illuminated by the merest rim of the dying moon, 'with the old moon in her lap,' the three companies of Canadians moved on over the bush-strewn ground. For over 400 yards the noiseless advance continued, and when within eighty yards of the Boer trench the trampling of the scrub betrayed the movement; instantly the outer trench of the Boers burst into fire, which was kept up almost without intermission from five minutes to three o'clock to ten minutes past that hour. Under this fire the courage and discipline of the Canadians proved themselves. Flinging themselves on the ground, they kept up an incessant fire on the trenches, guided only by the flashes of their enemies' rifles, and the Boers admit that they quickly reduced them to the necessity of

lifting their rifles over their heads to the edge of the earthwork and pulling their triggers at random. Behind this line the engineers did magnificent work. Careless of danger the trench was dug from the inner edge of the bank to the crest, and then for fifty or sixty yards out through the scrub. The Canadians retired three yards to this protection and waited for dawn, confident in their new position, which had entered the protected angle of the Boer position and commanded alike the rifle-pits of the banks and the trefoil-shaped embrasures on the north.

"Cronje saw that matters were indeed desperate. Many Boers threw up their hands and dashed unarmed across the intervening space; others waved white flags and exposed themselves carelessly on their entrenchments, but not a shot was fired. Colonel Otter and Colonel Kincaid held a hasty consultation, which was disturbed by the sight of Sir Henry Colville, General of the Ninth Division, quietly riding down to within 500 yards of the northern Boer trenches to bring the news that even while the last few shots were being fired a horseman was hurrying in with a white flag and Cronje's unconditional surrender, to take effect at sunrise."

The London Morning Post, April 6, published a two-column interview with Mr. Gilbert Parker on Canada's martial spirit in reference to South Africa, in which he was quoted as saying that the recent display of loyalty in Canada was not an "outburst," as it had been generally called, but the "inevitable result of Canada's growth into a nation."

"Her position," he said, "has compelled her to provide for the defense of her own border, because in the event of war it would be impossible for Great Britain to help her, at least in the initial stages; and the Canadians have always anticipated a war, either for the defense of their own shores and borders or for the defense of the Empire.

"The development of the federation which culminated in the election of Sir Wilfrid Laurier has been, therefore, synchronous with military development, until Canada now possesses a sound militia establishment of 35,000.

"Canadians are asking, if it has been practicable to fuse English and French Canadians under a French Premier why it is not possible to amalgamate the British and Dutch in South Africa in the same way, the British and Dutch temperaments being closer and there being no religious bar.

"I feel sure that something more in the direction of a federation of the Empire will come out of the present situation than the mere hoisting of the Union Jack at Pretoria. What direction the union will take is a matter of serious speculation, but some such closer union, I believe, is in the mind of every Canadian and every Australian. I have a feeling that three years hence the Minister of War, sitting on Pall Mall, will be able to put his finger on Toronto, Vancouver, Halifax, Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, and Adelaide with a full knowledge of their military possibilities, as he is now able to do with Newcastle or Manchester."

As showing the loyalty of the Colonies, especially Canada, in regard to the South African war, it was pointed out that with only ten dissentient votes in a House of 129 unpaired members, the Dominion House of Commons, March 14, 1900, voted approval of the Government's course in despatching a Canadian contingent "to assert the justice of the Imperial cause in South Africa."

The sitting was remarkable for the demonstration of loyal sentiment evoked by the patriotic and fervent address of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Mr. Bourassa, the Liberal member for Labelle, in Quebec Province, who resigned and was re-elected on the issue of opposition to Canada's participation in Imperial wars without an appeal to Parliament, offered an amendment to the motion for Supply, insisting that the course of the Government should not be considered a precedent committing Canada to any action in the future, and opposing any change in the political and military relations of Canada and Great Britain unless initiated by Parliament and sanctioned by the people. Mr. Bourassa, in his speech, denounced the war as unjust, and blamed Mr. Chamberlain for coercing the Canadian Government into passing a resolution last session of sympathy with the Uitlanders, while he was preparing all the while for war and expecting Colonial assistance.

The Prime Minister, in the course of his reply, said:

"My honorable friend has the same right to believe the war unjust as Mr. Morley or Mr. Courtney, but if my honorable friend believes the war is unjust, for my part I am just as fully convinced in heart and conscience that there never was a more just war on the part of England than the present one."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier then reviewed the refusal of the Transvaal to grant the right of franchise to tax-paying Uitlanders, a principle which

was sacred in the United States and Canada, which, like the Transvaal, had opened the doors to foreign settlers. As to the proposition that the relations between Great Britain and Canada could only be changed with the consent of the people, he had no fault to find, but he denied that in sending a contingent the Government had changed the relations. It was not true that in expressing sympathy with the Uitlanders the Government had been influenced by Mr. Chamberlain, the fact being that, except the leader of the Opposition, Sir Charles Tupper, nobody had seen the resolution from the time that it was adopted in Council till it was presented in the House. Nor was it true that Mr. Chamberlain at that time—in July—was preparing for war.

“Why,” said the Premier, “it will be to the eternal glory of England that instead of preparing for war last summer that war found her practically unprepared. Mr. Kruger had been preparing for years for war, buying munitions, accumulating provisions, importing European officers, and drilling his people, and when the time came and he thought he was ready and he issued his insolent ultimatum calling upon England to give up her possessions in South Africa, England was found absolutely unprepared, and consequently had to submit at the outset to successive defeats.

“What we did we did of our own free will, and as to future wars, I have only this to say, that if it should be the will of the people of Canada at a future stage to take part in any war of England, the people of Canada will have their way. Of course, if our future military contribution were to be considered compulsory—a condition which does not exist—I would say to Great Britain, ‘If you want us to help you, call us to your councils.’ It seems to me that if there ever was an occasion when we should not have a voice of dissent in this House it is the present occasion. My honorable friend dreads the consequences of our sending out a military contingent to South Africa. Let me tell you from the bottom of my heart that it is full of the hopes I entertain of the beneficial results that will accrue from that action. When our young Volunteers sailed from our shores to join the British army in South Africa, great were our expectations that they would display on those distant battlefields the same courage which had been displayed by their fathers when fighting in the last century. In many breasts there was a fugitive sense of uneasiness at the thought that the first facing of musketry by raw recruits was always a severe trial. But when

the telegraph brought us the news that such was the good impression made by our Volunteers that the Commander-in-Chief had placed them in the post of honor in the first rank to share the dangers with that famous corps, the Gordon Highlanders, when we read that they had justified fully the confidence placed in them, that they had charged like veterans, that their conduct was heroic and had won for them the encomiums of the Commander-in-Chief and the unstinted admiration of their comrades, who had faced death on a hundred battlefields in all parts of the world, was there a man whose bosom did not swell with pride—that noblest of all pride, that pride of pure patriotism, the pride of consciousness of our rising strength, the pride of consciousness that that day it had been revealed to the world that a new Power had been born in the West?

“Nor is that all. The work of union and harmony between the chief races of this country is not yet complete. We know by the unfortunate occurrences that took place only last week” (here the Premier referred to the students’ demonstration at Montreal) “that there is much to do in that way, but there is no bond of union so strong as that created by common dangers shared in common. To-day there are men in South Africa representing the two branches of the Canadian family fighting side by side for the honor and the fame of Canada. Already some of them have fallen, giving to their country the last full measure of devotion. Their remains have been laid in the same grave, and there they will remain till the end of time in that last fraternal embrace. Can we not hope that in that grave shall be buried the last vestiges of our former antagonism? If such shall be the result, if we can indulge that hope, if we can believe that in that grave shall be buried these former contentions, the sending of the contingent would be the greatest service ever rendered to Canada since the confederation.

“These are the motives at all events which guided us; these are the thoughts which inspired us, and they are thoughts which ought to commend themselves to the heart and judgment of my honorable friend, and which, in my judgment, ought to induce him not to press further this motion which he has presented.”

Public opinion in Canada was practically unanimous in endorsing the position taken by Lord Salisbury in his reply to Presidents Kruger and Steyn when the peace proposals were made on the basis of the independence of the two Republics.



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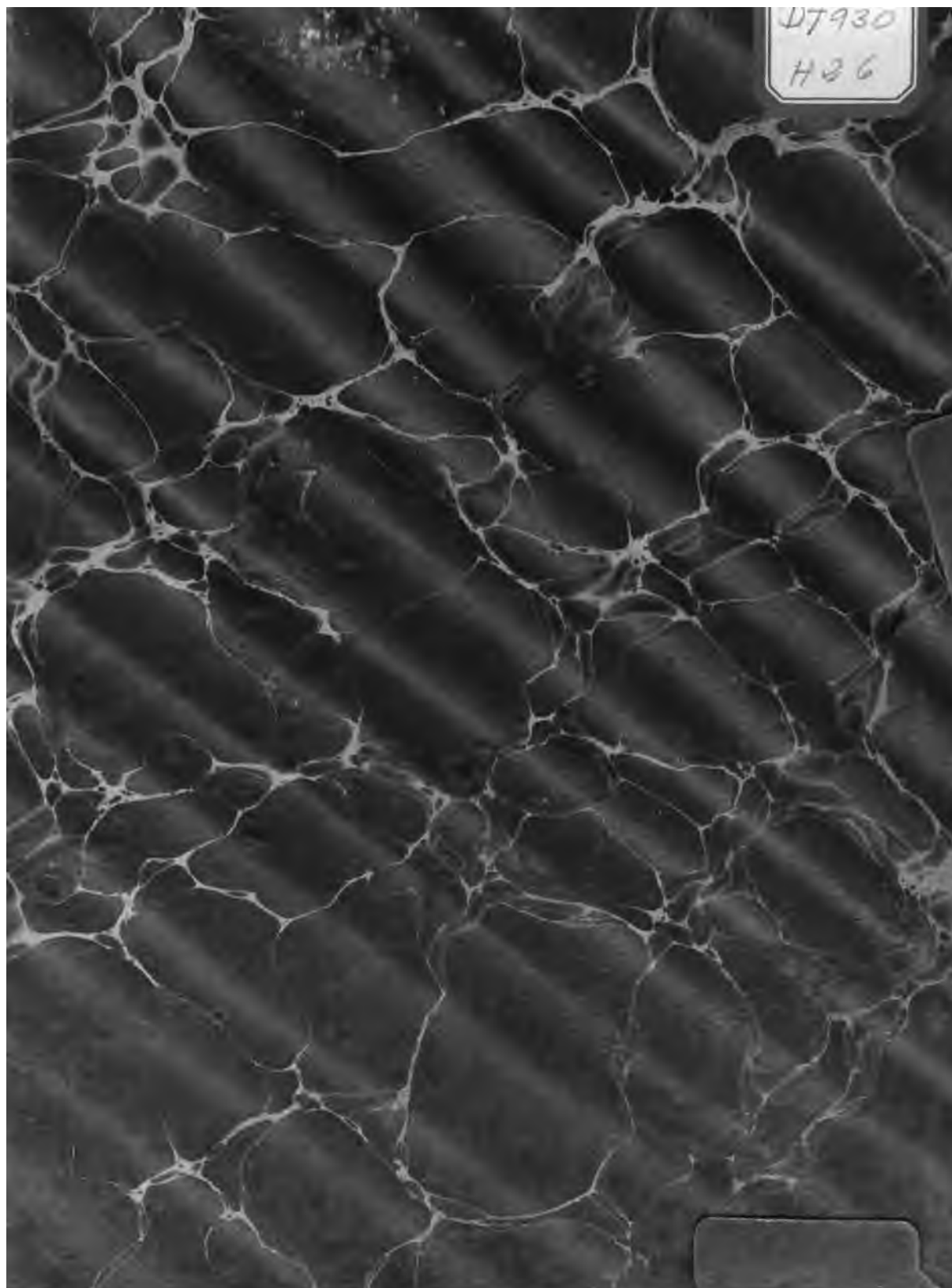


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